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Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

Vol. XVIII, No. 41 October 13, 1961 Section I — News

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Those Soviet Nuclear Tests: Watch for a sudden, dramatic and well-publicized announcement from Moscow that the Soviet Union is stopping its atmospheric nuclear tests—such is the warning relayed to HUMAN EVENTS by some of America's best informed atomic scientists. The latter fear that the Kremlin wind machine will score a great global, psychological victory, by the usual mendacious Red claims, somewhat as follows:

The Soviets will say that they have only been testing in order to catch up with the many (and more numerous) US tests of years past. The Reds will claim they are now prepared to stop, because (1) they have gained sufficient scientific knowledge, but, above all, because (2) they do not want to impair "world health" by continuing. All this line, of course, will be based on the Soviet expectation that the US ere long will have to resume atmospheric testing (see HUMAN EVENTS News Section of September 15). When the US does so, the Soviets will no longer be testing, and the brunt of world revulsion against this activity will be turned against the US.

It is feared that, in such a case, pacifist and "humanitarian" opinion in the US will noisily seek to prevent our resumption of atmospheric tests.

Actually, these American scientists point out, the Soviets will certainly have to stop their testing soon (following their 17 recent explosions); they must study the results and experiences of their explosions, weigh the evidence, make extensive scientific studies and do some redesigning. This appraisal period may well take many months, if not more than a year. Meanwhile, the Kremlin hopes to enjoy the spectacle of a battle royal in the US press about whether or not we should resume atmospheric testing. And, moreover, the sardonic Kremlin might suddenly claim it is prepared to enter into a test ban treaty, a natural maneuver since Russia would want to prevent US resumption.

Presumably to spoil this Soviet propaganda game, some of our experts, it is understood, are urging the US to resume atmospheric testing at once.

Danger in Germany: A new danger in Germany, this time in free West Germany, now looms before the Washington shapers of US foreign policy. The ominous development is some startling evidence of sharply-rising anti-American sentiment among West Germans.

In a public interview last week, no less a person than the highly important West German Minister of Defense, Franz Josef Strauss, apparently found it necessary to note an "anti-American mood." He claimed that this was not "widespread," but confessed he was "nevertheless concerned about unsuitable emotions awakening here and there among the public. It is an extremely dangerous development," he warned. Observers in Bonn regarded this statement by a top-level West German official as "unprecedented."

At the same time, one of the most important newspapers in West Germany, *Die Welt* of Hamburg, ran an article discussing the "dangerous development." It said that if the US should accept a division of Germany (the "two Germanys" idea so popular among liberals in the Kennedy Administration), the result would be the destruction of West Germany's role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. For the West Germans would conclude they had made a mistake in trusting "weak and treacherous" allies in joining NATO.

Many Germans, predicted Die Welt, *would then consider "an alliance with the East" rather than the West—in short, a deal with Khrushchev.*

Two months ago HUMAN EVENTS warned of just such a turn in West German sentiment if the US wavered in its professed firm policy against Khrushchev. According to reliable sources among Democrats, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson has similarly been warning the President that this would happen. Acheson, who reportedly wanted to prevent the sealing off of East Berlin (by the Communists) by force of arms, is a special adviser to the President.

In the last week, friends of the former Truman cabinet member told HUMAN EVENTS that Acheson is disgusted with the current "soft" policy of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, but, when friends

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urged him to see the President and protest, he refused. Acheson remarked that he would only advise the President when Kennedy called him in for advice.

The Arkansas Appeaser: The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright, continues to lead the apostles of appeasement on the New Frontier. Apparently still unable to realize that someone else had been chosen for Secretary of State, the Senator, at a recent London press conference, decided he would make a few *ex cathedra* foreign policy pronouncements of his own.

The Senator said that the West, as well as the Soviet Union, shared responsibility for the Berlin crisis. "Certainly it was not just the fault of the Russians," he philosophized. "The Americans contributed much to this . . . . I do not want to be self-righteous about it." Fulbright, who is undoubtedly well aware of the fact that his views are carefully weighed by East and West alike, then went on to say that West Germany should not receive atomic weapons. This, he said, "is a matter of legitimate concern to the Russians."

The Senator's statements caused a sharp reaction in Germany, which was just recovering from General Lucius Clay's off-the-cuff, sell-out remarks in Berlin. (See Walter Trohan article on page 679 about an earlier venture into politics by General Clay.) A leading newspaper in Cologne, *Deutsche Zeitung*, blasted Fulbright as a "Dunderhead."

But here on Capitol Hill there is a feeling that it is high time for Kennedy to rebuke the Arkansas Democrat if the President is really determined to present a firm front to Khrushchev. For this is not the first time that this Senator has helped to undermine America's negotiating position with the Russians.

New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent Marguerite Higgins points out that on a national television program, at the time Kennedy was saying Laos must be defended, Fulbright said he would oppose sending any troops into Southeast Asia. It was also Fulbright who claimed, just prior to the Soviet erection of barricades in Berlin, that that escape hatch for East German refugees was "negotiable."

The Fulbright *gaffes* recall a salty remark once made about him by President Harry S. Truman. Truman tagged the Arkansas Senator as an "overeducated s. o. b." But angry conservatives recall the biting amendment which Senator Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) later added to this Trumanism: "I don't think the Senator is overeducated."

The New Frontier and Red China: The White House announces that the US representative to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, has been instructed to fight till the end the entry of Red China into the world body. Reports from New York, however, indicate that Stevenson's work in this regard is considerably less than yeoman. Comments the Ambassador of a staunch anti-Communist Far Eastern ally:

"Your Ambassador is just not doing the job that Mr. Lodge, for instance, did. If he made it crystal clear that mainland China must not be admitted to the UN, the question would be closed. But he has not."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, meanwhile, is listed as Special Advisor to the UN delegation. In a very recent speech at Charlotte, North Carolina, however, Mrs. Roosevelt openly called for UN recognition of Red China.

The Congo: Last week Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) arraigned United Nations operations in the Congo and called for the United States Government to help effectively strip the powers of those UN officials responsible for the September 13 invasion of the pro-Western province of Katanga.

Dodd's clarion call to the government to take effective action in Katanga, where the situation is rapidly deteriorating under United Nations auspices, is seen as vitally necessary if Tshombe's forces are not to fall under the sway of the Central Government of the Congo where the pro-Communist Gizengists have the upper hand. (See HUMAN EVENTS of September 29.)

Informed sources, recently returned from the Congo, claim the UN's operation in Katanga is coming increasingly under control of the ultra-leftists.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, the UN's chief representative in Katanga whom Dodd wants dismissed, has long been a leading advocate of Red China's admittance to the UN. It is also reliably reported that he sold the Irish Foreign Minister, Frank Aiken, on the Rapacki plan of Communist Poland to create an atom-free zone in Europe, which would leave the continent at the mercy of Russian conventional warfare. The UN's public relations man in Katanga, Michel Tombelaine, is considered pro-Gizenga by those who have met him.

UN officials, moreover, have been turning the refugee camp in Katanga's capital, Elisabethville, into a cauldron of hate against Katanga, by spreading anti-Tshombe propaganda among the camp's 30,000 underfed Baluba tribesmen, who fled Kasai Province during the September 13 turmoil. The situation is considered so explosive that the slightest incident could set off a riot that would give the UN another excuse to invade Katanga. Amazingly, the United States continues to strengthen the hand of the glass house on the East River. Recently the US Air Force supplied the UN with four troop transports (three C-130's, one C-124) for the purpose of flying more UN troops into Katanga.

Recruits for Hoffa: The railroad brotherhoods have declared war on the new bill of Senator John

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L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) to apply the anti-trust laws to transportation unions, and will join the opposition when hearings are held by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Whether they like it or not, the less radical rail unionists will have to rub shoulders with dictatorial James Hoffa and ultra-leftist Harry Bridges, bosses of the Teamsters and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's unions, respectively. The latter were named specifically by McClellan as his legislative targets.

The railway unions' weekly newspaper, *Labor*, asserts that under the McClellan bill they would lose their "chief economic weapon," the right to strike. Roy E. Davidson, head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, calls the bill "a push toward a Fascist state."

Hoffa aims to enlist as allies, also, the entire AFL-CIO. His minions are spreading the word that the McClellan bill is a prelude to attempts to subject all unions to the anti-trust laws.

Pay-off for Reuther? Reversal of itself by the National Labor Relations Board, now dominated by Kennedy appointees, to hold that the "agency shop" (a gimmick which permits union dues to be collected from non-union workers) is allowable under the right-to-work law of Indiana, could point the way for union bosses to try to evade the laws of 18 other states forbidding any form of compulsory union membership. But these 18 apparently have specific legal bans or strong official rulings against the "agency shop," and the Indiana ruling itself may be struck down in the state courts or the US Supreme Court.

The case is of such gravity in the fight to preserve the right of men to make a living without paying tribute to a labor union that it seems headed for the highest tribunal.

The National Right-to-Work Committee takes the view that the NLRB reversal is a pay-off to Walter Reuther for his political support of Kennedy, and points out that, through the Indiana ruling, the Reuther-led United Auto Workers union "may now be enriched by at least $1,200,000 a year."

As Others See Us: An outstanding West European diplomat (who in recent months has visited both Russia and the US) has given the following prophecy to a correspondent of HUMAN EVENTS:

"The year 1961 can be properly compared to the year 1938 (the year of the fatal Munich agreement), except that it will be more gigantic and ominous. There will be a conference between the West and Khrushchev. It will terminate with the appearance that there has been a give-and-take in the negotiations. But actually, you and the British (I can't conceive of de Gaulle participating) will yield on such matters as the creation of a 'free' city or a 'free' zone of Berlin.

"Khrushchev will make a show of making a 'concession,' such as a formal guarantee of freedom of communications between the West and the new 'free' status of Berlin. There may be some other so-called agreements, which can be blown up by your politicians as 'important,' but which in fact will be meaningless. Khrushchev may even, with a grand gesture, consent to register them with the UN. Within a few months or a year, of course, he'll start nibbling at them.

"Meanwhile, American public opinion, which is now ready to fight back, will go back to sports, the stock market and politics, lulled into a feeling that Kennedy has brought peace by negotiation and not surrender.

"Hence, while I think this year (of a Munich) is dangerous, the more perilous time will come later as you approach your elections.

"Then whoever heads Soviet Russia will put on the ultimate fatal pressure. I say 'whoever' because I do not know that it will be Khrushchev. I have seen him recently in Moscow, and I can tell you he is not well at all."

US-Made Red Propaganda: While the Congress has just passed a bill to curb Communist publications from being distributed through the mails, HUMAN EVENTS learns that the State Department has been encouraging American firms to print official Soviet propaganda.

An official Soviet publication, *USSR*, is now published in Rockville, Maryland, by the Haynes Lithograph Co., which grosses some $10 million annually. According to Kenneth Haynes, Jr., the company's vice president, his firm, with a letter of full—and warm—approval from the State Department, publishes 50,000 copies monthly of this English language Soviet propaganda organ for distribution and sale in the United States.

Experts on Communist workings say that *USSR* is one of the best Red propaganda organs, not only because of its contents, but because of the extraordinarily fine job of printing, which, apparently, cannot be achieved by printers in the Soviet Union. Yet, precisely because Haynes does an excellent printing job, *USSR* leaves the general impression that Moscow can turn out as fine a printed product as Uncle Sam and is, probably, as far advanced technologically.

A US-USSR cultural exchange agreement permits the swap of official propaganda magazines between both countries, but there is nothing under this program by which US firms are required to print Soviet propaganda.

ALEX J. FEHR, Assistant Professor, Department of History and Political Science, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, Penn.: "HUMAN EVENTS is extremely valuable in providing the conservative side of the American political scene. It does this in a vigorous, interesting and concise style."

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The desire to have American firms print it is, pure and simple, a State Department fetish for which there is no apparent reason. Bill Hayes, vice president of Wisconsin Cuneo Press (which formerly printed *USSR*), told HUMAN EVENTS that the State Department started to actively encourage large firms to take on the job after a small company in New York quit printing it under public pressure.

The Truman-Robert Welch Doctrine: It is a little known fact that former President Harry S. Truman has publicly subscribed to that doctrine of the John Birch Society which is most widely criticized by liberals: "The United States is a republic, not a democracy." On January 5, 1961, Edward R. Murrow interviewed Truman on a Columbia Broadcasting System television show, "Our Election Day Illusions: The Beat Majority."

Here is what Truman said to the TV audience: "Under the Electoral College system, every state has its proper representation just as it has in the Congress of the United States. This is a government by representation. It's a republic. It's not a democracy, and that's the reason it's been able to stand up under the greatest document of government that was ever written, the Constitution of the United States."

Capitol Camera: A source who knows reported the following last week: During his recent Washington visit, California's Democratic Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown asked Attorney General Robert Kennedy a favor. Brown told Kennedy that Brown's brother was a very capable lawyer, and asked Bobby to appoint him to a Federal judgeship. "Oh no," answered Kennedy, "that would be nepotism."

• *Reports were circulated widely at the recent Far West meeting of GOP leaders that "Rockefeller money" is behind "Goodie" Knight in his attempt to defeat former Vice President Nixon for the California governorship.*

• Redmond H. Roach, Jr., an assistant general counsel to the United Auto Workers, has been appointed special assistant to William L. Batt, Jr., head of the Area Redevelopment (depressed areas) Administration. Conservative Congressmen were annoyed over Roach's selection, since they had been assured the ARA, set up in the Commerce Department, would be run by men with a pro-business philosophy. Batt formerly worked in the Labor Department under Truman.

• *The San Francisco* Chronicle *recently released a poll which indicates that popular confidence in the New Frontier is anything but solid. Only* 24 *per cent of those polled in representative areas thought that JFK had done a good over-all job. On the other hand,* 46 *per cent stated they found him "disappointing." Thirty-six per cent said that Kennedy was conducting foreign affairs to their satisfaction, but* 56 *per cent were dissatisfied.*

• The Republican Congressional Committee has prepared a film dealing with the need for a GOP Congress in 1962. The film, "Project Victory," features William E. Miller, Senator Barry Goldwater, and Congressman Robert C. Wilson, respectively, chairmen of the GOP National, Senatorial Campaign and Congressional Committees. "Project Victory" can be purchased for $45 a print from Koster's Film Facility, 1017 New Jersey Avenue, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

Statistical Juggling: Two respected publications, the September issue of *Readers Digest* and the September 23 edition of *The Magazine of Wall Street*, have come along to elaborate on a thesis HUMAN EVENTS has been hammering on for some time (see January 27 issue): that the unemployment problem has been overrated and that the jobless figure has been inflated through government statistical juggling. Both these articles are particularly timely since the GOP is now predicting that the Administration is planning once again to use the unemployment "problem" as a whip with which to drive through major spending legislation when the Congress returns in January.

Digest reporter James Daniel casts grave doubt on the reliability of the unemployed figure put out by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. He says the definition of unemployment has been periodically altered so that it makes it almost impossible to compare unemployment statistics of one year with another. In the 1930's, says Daniel, a person was classified as looking for work only if he was actually job hunting, but in 1945 the BLS lumped as unemployed those who were looking and those who had no intention of looking. Moreover, relates Daniel, the definition has been changed to include those who are temporarily out of work because of a strike and even those who may have promises of a definite job.

According to *The Magazine of Wall Street*, if the United States, like Great Britain, limited the definition of unemployed only to those actively seeking work, the US could almost halve its unemployment picture. Instead of the nearly five million unemployed as estimated by our government, *The Magazine of Wall Street* estimates "our total unemployment would be only about three million, or under 4% of the civilian labor force."

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HUMAN EVENTS

October 13, 1961

Was the 1960 Election Reported Fairly?

New, Disturbing Journalistic Era Opens

By Richard F. Pourade
Editor Emeritus, San Diego Union

THE COVERAGE of the 1960 political campaign by the Associated Press and United Press International indicates that interpretive writing has opened a new and disturbing era of personal journalism.

In a meeting of editors called by United Press International in the hot summer of 1960, one of its top staff members said that he was trying to convince the United Press International management that repetitious political speeches, TV and radio have taken the edge off campaign news, and coverage should be devoted more to what was going on behind the scenes on the trains and planes of the candidates, reactions and interpretations.

What the candidate had to say was to be less important than what the reporter thought about what was happening. Both the UPI and the AP campaign coverage took news reporting into the field of interpretation, and interpretive columns into the field of pure personal comment. It became obvious whom the reporters, in many cases, liked or didn't like, by consciously or unconsciously using various shades of emphasis and excitement, and in the choice of descriptive phrases. A definite "landslide" psychology was built up for Senator Kennedy, particularly in the copy of the Associated Press, a situation certainly not borne out by the returns. It is hard to determine just how much this reporting contributed to Senator Kennedy's narrow majority.

Nobody has been able to define interpretive writing and, as a result, all such efforts become purely personal journalism, bounded only by reporters' journalistic and ideological restraint.

One of the most surprising features of the Associated Press coverage was the extent to which the so-called interpretive columns questioned the motives of the candidates, disparaged their remarks, and brought the doubt of the Associated Press on their integrity and character. Some of these so-called interpretive columns went further than many partisan newspaper editorials.

This journalistic laxity was reflected throughout the entire reporting of both the AP and UPI. In story after story, the reporters read motives into the words and actions of the candidates and, upon occasion, imputed base political motives to positions and statements.

Interpretation has been justified on the contention that otherwise the news report would be dull and nobody would read newspapers, thus no one wants to return to strict objective reporting. This brings up the question whether the press is the chief medium through which a Presidential candidate makes his appeal to the people, and if he is entitled to a straight, factual presentation of what he said and the points he is trying to get over, even though repetitive.

Isn't that our function? Isn't that the function of the AP and the UPI? Instead, the services in their day by day reporting turned the campaign and issues into a crude contest—one minute one candidate being down, the other up; one landing a telling blow, the other wincing; in another round, both slugging it out toe to toe.

The reporting by the AP and UPI was a manifestation of the entire drift of press reporting. The Brookings Institute in its suggestions on changes in Presidential press conferences remarked that "to many reporters, the President's press conferences have become an exercise in gamesmanship, and the President is made to look like a coward or a dunce if, by silence or evasion, he refuses to join in the game on the press's own terms."

The whole situation was reflected in individual newspaper coverage as well.

We all read the editorial in the New York *Daily News* which charged that Vice President Nixon's campaign had been sabotaged by unfriendly reporters: "Reporters who are supposed to be objective turned into mass columnists, editorial writers, and propagandists. And, editors who are supposed to keep newspaper columns unbiased allowed such columns to be turned into propaganda. The whole disgraceful performance was bad journalism, bad ethics, and a breaking of faith with the readers of the newspapers we are talking about."

A report to *Editor and Publisher* by its Washington correspondent, from the campaign tours, indicated wide emotional involvement of reporters, particularly in the Kennedy candidacy, an involvement many made little attempt to conceal.

Raymond Moley, in *Newsweek* magazine on November 28, 1960, stated: "In general, what Nixon had to say in his whirlwind campaign was badly reported in the press by most of those covering his travels."

As the New York *Daily News* said editorially, "Seventy-five per cent of the reporters who were with him were opposed to his election and 'these men' slanted their dispatches against Nixon."

Earl Johnson, editor of United Press International, in a letter defending UPI press coverage, referred to a statement by former Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton, himself a publisher, saying that the attitudes and reactions of reporters covering the candidates was disgraceful (though he did not include UPI).

A CHASM DEVELOPED between most of the newspapermen and the Vice President, largely over offensive and antagonistic questions and attitudes. The attitudes and reporting by special correspondents is the problem of individual newspapers and publishers; the reporting by the AP and UPI is the problem of all.

Even if the benefit of the doubt were given to all wire service reporters covering the campaign, that they did their journalistic best to submerge their personal feelings, the fact remains that the editorial laxity granted them in their daily coverage resulted in emotional treatment too often keyed to the reporters' personal convictions.

Wire service reporters set themselves up as a final judge of crowds, reactions, sincerity of statement, pertinency of the statements politically and ideologically, and passed judgment on the merits of various proposals. Too often, what the candidate had to say was buried beneath how the reporter personally evaluated it in the context of the whole campaign, and what he thought was the crowd's reaction to it.

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In one Associated Press report of a speech given by former President Eisenhower in Detroit, the reporter pointedly dwelt on the fact that businessmen were in the audience and that the businessmen reacted in silence to several remarks in General Eisenhower's speech. The interpretive impression left by this treatment is that the businessmen didn't like what they heard. However, it might be that the points did not call for applause, and silence indicated passive receptivity. Who can say?

The United Press International, in one situation dwelt heavily in repeated stories on some debris that was thrown at the Vice President. Perhaps because of what the reporter might have thought was a lack of fresh news, he dwelt on this to a point where it could have been interpreted by the reader as reflecting a major reaction to Mr. Nixon. It certainly can be questioned whether this was a proper evaluation of its importance in the campaign.

PERHAPS SOME of the public complaint about the campaign that candidates did not make their points clear or did not develop them fully is due to the press coverage as much as to the speeches of the candidates.

The UPI in two stories out of Salt Lake City gave two entirely different evaluations of the endorsement of Nixon by President McKay of the Mormon Church, one reporter stating it was expected to have an appreciable impact and the other quoting "political observers" saying they had no idea how much weight it would have. In both cases it was pure speculation. Should not evaluation be restricted to quotable political sources and not the reporters' reaction? After all, these are the sources of news; not the reporter.

We defy anyone to read the editorial comments in the news stories on Truman's campaign activities and not surmise an emotional commitment. Truman can be measured in several scales; why should the reporter be allowed to evaluate him for us? In one AP story Truman "delighted" his hearers, smiled "benevolently," noted "sorrowfully," and made "impish" (cute) references, and the crowd "chuckled."

The wire reporters expressed continual concern over the religious issue and continually presented Senator Kennedy as fighting against odds to keep it out of the campaign, that it could only work against him. Actually, the polls and returns indicate otherwise. This would indicate the reporters themselves were totally incapable of properly evaluating this issue. There comes a suspicion that the press was "used."

A CHEAPNESS OF LANGUAGE contributed to devaluating a political statement or commitment. The AP dismissed one statement by President Eisenhower as a mere political "plug." Nixon "coaxed" support. He made a "pitch" in Virginia. In another, Nixon is compared to a "snapping trout." Nixon was trying to "push" himself into the White House.

Certainly, the reporters seemed to try to outdo themselves every day as to who might have had the best crowd or the least crowd, and which crowd might have outshouted another, as if the candidates' statement and its importance to history was to be weighed by a reaction of a crowd which might or might not have been brought out by party workers, labor unions, or spontaneous assemblage.

We have gone through most of the wire service copy and, incidentally, have saved it all, underlining many paragraphs which certainly lend themselves to various interpretation, mostly emotional. We have shown what the reaction can be to the reports of emotional versions of what happened, or what should have happened, or what didn't happen. Certainly, the poll of voter attitudes during the campaign was in no way consistent with the enthusiasm expressed one way or another by reporters accompanying the candidates. While the stories indicated Senator Kennedy was moving toward a landslide, the sentiment for Mr. Nixon was on an increase, from all indications of the polls.

It might be noted in passing that the Associated Press displayed a reluctance to make a correction on a statement attributed to Henry Cabot Lodge when the AP said he had promised there would be a Negro in the Cabinet. He had predicted, not promised, as the other services and newspapers reported. Has the AP become untouchable?

There isn't any doubt that what the candidates said and what they did was measured by the personal ideology of the reporter. It is good or bad depending upon what the reporter believes. As a result, personal feelings have permeated the entire UPI and AP copy. It suggests a serious lack of proper control in editing.

At a post election meeting of the Associated Press managing editors, James Pope, executive editor of the Louisville newspapers, as reported in *Editor and Publisher*, deplored interpretive writing as "something I haven't seen anybody able to define." He said objective reporting became the whipping boy when many editors decided that objective reporting was superficial.

"Mr. Pope said the greatest responsibility of American newspapers is to give the public the facts in clear, understandable terms so the public can make up its own mind. He said there were only two adjectives that could be used to describe reporting: 'It's either good or bad. In our news columns let's get back to reporting the facts,' he urged."

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Excerpts from AP and UPI Dispatches

(*October 1 to November 8, 1960*)

OCTOBER 1

EN ROUTE WITH NIXON, (Ernest B. Vaccaro) AP: Nixon's speeches yesterday pointed up the increased emphasis on *personal attacks on Kennedy.* Throughout another day of campaigning, *Nixon appeared bent on building up the image of himself as a poor man's son running against the son of a millionaire.* (Is the AP to question a man's motives?)

EN ROUTE WITH NIXON, (William Theis) UPI: It was no secret that *GOP leaders in various parts of the country* were upset by Nixon's appearance of fatigue on his Monday night TV debate with Kennedy in Chicago and with the moderate tone he took in attacking the Senator's position. (Shouldn't UPI quote the comments?)

OCTOBER 3

RICHMOND, VA., (Jack Bell) AP: Nixon was *politely applauded* by noon-day crowds of several thousand . . . (Polite applause suggests the welcome was a mere duty.)

CARBONDALE, ILL., (Arthur Edson) AP: He said the Vice President is talking nonsense when he says Republicans and Democrats have similar goals for this country. Kennedy's busy schedule called for a day long hunt, by motorcade and by airplane, for one of the highest prizes in the Presidential race: Illinois' 27 electoral votes. The Democratic Presidential nominee had more than a dozen stops in central and southern Illinois before flying into Chicago to spend the night. And Kennedy contended, as he has so often before, that only a Democrat can lead this country forward. . . . *Kennedy flailed away at Nixon.* The *audiences seemed to love it.* Especially one member of his St. Louis audience last night, *champion word slinger Harry S. Truman.* And *once again Truman ate crow in public. Even after Nixon returned to the campaign trail, Kennedy appeared to consider direct attacks to be in bad taste.* From a practical standpoint, one of Kennedy's most productive stops came when he was invited in to address the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association at St. Paul. This powerful farm group *hasn't been very excited* about either candidate. (1-Kennedy, the AP suggests, has been above the tactics of the "old Nixon." 2-Who says the farm group hasn't been excited about either? The AP?)

ALTON, ILL., (Arthur Edson) AP: John F. Kennedy, who has suddenly developed into an *oratorical slugger,* sharpened his attack on Richard M. Nixon today as he hunted votes in Illinois. It began as a gloomy, drizzly day, but the crowds greeting Kennedy were both *large and gay.* School children had been let out to watch the parade go by. (The AP evaluates his tactics.)

CHARLOTTE, N. C., (Geoffrey Gould) AP: Nixon's entry into Richmond attracted small clusters of housewives. For several blocks in downtown Richmond, the *crowds were more heartening.* (Did Nixon say he was disheartened, or was it an AP judgment?)

OCTOBER 4

NEWARK, N. J. (Geoffrey Gould) AP: *Pat the campaigner. . . . This is the way she operates:* When the plane lands the door swings up and out steps the Vice President and Pat on the folding stairway. *They are smiling, she is poised and*

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demurely dressed. Yesterday, it was a conservative gray suit, with white blouse showing at the neck, and a gray-flecked cloche hat . . . *Mrs. Nixon presents an attitude of absorbed attention* . . . a small smile stays on her lips. The man smiled from ear to ear. *Surely, one thought, Mrs. Nixon has nailed down at least one Republican vote.* (She is putting on an act, says the AP.)

IN NEW JERSEY, (Jack Bell) AP: Vice President Richard M. Nixon *coaxed support* from New Jersey voters today after a *free-wheeling invasion* of the normally Democratic South . . . and *beat the drum* about the accomplishments of President Eisenhower. *Nixon's pitch in Virginia . . . Even if he seemed to be orienting his campaign toward Dixie, this was only a temporary thing.* He obviously knew that in New Jersey . . . Citizens lined the streets and *applauded politely* . . . In Richmond's Capitol Square a crowd estimated by State Police at 12,000 gave him an enthusiastic reception. *He didn't dwell on his own party's platform . . . But he painted the Democratic platform* . . . (Nixon is not to be taken seriously. He is making cheap pitches for votes.)

NEW YORK, (James Devlin) AP: Johnson spoke to about 500 persons gathered on the steps of the Queensborough Hall in Kew Gardens. Some of those present complained privately that they had not known until this morning that Johnson was to appear in Queens, an apartment section of close to 2 million. (The AP explains the poor attendance for Johnson.)

Only 35 Days

OCTOBER 5

NEW YORK, (Jack Bell) AP: Nixon's reception in midtown New York was somewhat less than enthusiastic as he discussed a wide range of issues from national defense to civil rights. (Which scale of "enthusiasm" is the AP using here?)

NEW YORK, (Jack Bell) AP: It was by all odds the most *raucous, unruly crowd* of enthusiasts Nixon has encountered in a campaign that formerly has been marked largely by *polite partisan receptions* wherever he has gone. . . . But until the West Orange appearance *there was lacking the high pitch of enthusiasm for Nixon that Kennedy engendered.* (More and more AP evaluations?)

NEW YORK, UPI: The Nixon motorcade drew *a fair sprinkling of sidewalk crowds* as it moved through the Bronx to and from Fordham. But New Yorkers were *not overly demonstrative* during the early part of the one-day invasion. (What measurement is being used?)

EN ROUTE WITH KENNEDY, (Alvin Spivak) UPI: While Kennedy made no mention of it, a big factor considered to be working against him in Indiana is the religious issue of his membership in the Catholic Church. (The UPI injects the issue.)

OCTOBER 6

CINCINNATI, OHIO, (Arthur Edson) AP: So far Kennedy has been critical of the way the Republican Administration has dealt with Cuba, but *he hasn't spelled out what he will do if he is elected President.* Yet as he drove down Fourth Street, Louisville's *main drag,* he drew as *happy and bouncy a crowd as a rock 'n' roll king. The homemade signs, almost a trademark of any Kennedy rally, show the spirit of the thing.* (The AP finds fault with Kennedy but the people love him anyway.)

NASHVILLE, TENN., (Jack Bell) AP: A crowd *which left about 3,000 empty seats* in the 14,000-seat convention hall in Philadelphia—the scene of many national conventions—made up in stamping enthusiasm what it lacked in numbers. (Let's be sure to point out *first* that Nixon couldn't fill the hall.)

OCTOBER 7

WASHINGTON, (Joe F. Kane) AP: (Great Debate.) . . . before the first round which many *critics called a kid gloves* affair. Some of the *rougher tactics* are expected to show up as the two *square off* in a television studio setting designed *"to suggest a feeling of warmth and comfort."* (What critics is he quoting?)

WASHINGTON, (Alvin Spivak) UPI: *Kennedy appeared to be trying to put Nixon on the defensive* on the Cuban situation and to be making a counterattack on the civil rights issue in advance of his confrontation with the Vice President tonight. (Is UPI speaking for Kennedy?)

OCTOBER 10

DENVER, (Arthur Edson) AP: Vice President Richard M. Nixon today opened his bid for Colorado's . . . six electoral votes by *taking pot shots* at Senator John F. Kennedy. (Loose language again.)

DENVER, AP: In each area he picks an *issue of strong local interest* as he did at Denver. (Is Nixon being deceptive?)

WASHINGTON, AP: The *prestige of America again entangled the Presidential* candidates. Senator John F. Kennedy warned of "the handwriting on the wall." Vice President Richard M. Nixon talked of his opponent's "doleful contention." (Is this to suggest both are talking words?)

BILLINGS, MONT., (Arthur Edson) AP: This Presidential campaign has been run almost on an around-the-clock schedule, but usually the voters have at *least been permitted to breakfast in peace.* (Almost a belittlement on the part of AP.)

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: (World Today) Khrushchev . . . *he has a better change in pace than Vice President Richard M. Nixon or Senator John F. Kennedy.* Ever since the campaign began they have operated on a high and *very vague plane,* always the gentlemen. But what Nixon and Kennedy have accomplished so far in their campaign *isn't clear,* either. Even the polls look fuzzy on who's ahead. As if to offset this *"me, too" appearance,* Nixon started off his second debate by announcing "I disagree" with Kennedy. When it was all over the polls that were taken didn't show much change in voter sentiment. (The AP discounts the whole business.)

WARM SPRINGS, ARK., (Joe Hall) AP: (Kennedy) . . . did not go into any detailed discussion of his civil rights views. Nixon has repeatedly challenged Kennedy to give his stand on this subject in the South as well as in the North. The Senator has answered that he has discussed civil rights in every one of his Southern speeches. (The AP rebukes Kennedy for not going into details.)

WARM SPRINGS, (Joe Hall) AP: It was a bright, pleasant day, typical of the *Kennedy weather luck which has blessed most of his campaign.* (Even heaven is helping Kennedy.)

WARM SPRINGS, ARK., (William Theis) UPI: . . . *Kennedy hammered* the GOP for failing to dull the economic impact and *threw back in Nixon's face* the record of . . .

WARM SPRINGS, (William Theis) UPI: . . . gave Kennedy a heartwarming welcome. (This is a new goal. How warm is heartwarming?)

Four Weeks Remain

OCTOBER 11

EN ROUTE WITH NIXON, (Arthur Edson) AP: . . . is putting *new stress* on an *old issue* as he makes his bid for the winning of the West. (The AP discounts the issue as just an "old one.")

SAN DIEGO, (Geoffrey Gould) AP: Nixon really *pulled off the velvet gloves* and met Kennedy head-on on this issue. . . . Nixon seemed to be *locking horns* directly with Kennedy on a specific issue. Nixon *rose to the challenge like a trout snapping a brown hackle.* (Nixon finally is willing to fight, says the AP.)

SALT LAKE CITY, (Merriman Smith) UPI: . . . *endorsement was expected to have an appreciable impact* on the vote in Utah where Democractic leaders had been quite hopeful of carrying the State until President David McKay spoke out.

SALT LAKE CITY, UPI: Utah political observers said later *they had no idea* how much weight McKay's action would have. (UPI men didn't seem to agree.)

OCTOBER 12

LOS ANGELES, (Arthur Edson) AP: . . . confident *he (Nixon) now has an issue* that will help *push him into the White House.* Nixon has *gone halfway around the world to latch onto his issue, two tiny islands,* off the coast of China. There's no doubt that *Nixon thinks he has something hot* in Quemoy and Matsu. *It's far away,* but here, for the present at least, Nixon has *pitched his hopes.* Nixon has taken what seemed to be a *relatively minor disagreement* in the television debate and *developed it for all it's worth.* (This is brash, unobjective reporting—Nixon is accused of trying to make something out of nothing.)

LOS ANGELES, AP: Neither *this letter nor Herbert Klein gave any specific details on how Nixon proposed to safeguard the United States from interference in domestic affairs.* (Let's be sure and challenge them.)

A SPECIAL REPORT, (J. M. Roberts) AP: *We have the issue of which one of these relatively inexperienced young men* has the most experience applicable to the Presidency. Kennedy, Nixon and the nation *can say "I think"* about that one all night without reaching a *provable conclusion. If there is any prestige in it, the United States is certainly richer in material things than other nations.* But *how many people consider that a flaw in itself, and a detriment to consideration of spiritual things? Millions upon millions think that in one degree or another. Do more people revere President Eisenhower above Premier Khrushchev? Undoubtedly yes. But do more people revere President Eisenhower than Prime Minister Nehru of India? I, for one, seriously doubt it. Does the world trust the leadership of the United States?* The *trend toward establishment of a separate neutral force in the United Nations answers no* . . . Yet there is an obvious tendency to accept the United States above Soviet Russia. (The AP dismisses the two candidates and sits in judgment on the whole world.)

EN ROUTE WITH JOHNSON, (John A. Goldsmith) UPI: . . . *folksy bid for the heart and hand of Southern voters got a shot-in-the-arm* . . . (Johnson seems to get the friendly, folksy treatment.)

LOS ANGELES, (Merriman Smith) UPI: . . . believes he (Nixon) has found the most *effective clout* of the campaign . . . On the shores of the Pacific, issues involving the Far East have much more *firepower* than they do in the East and *Nixon warmed up the Quemoy-Matsu matter* progressively as he traveled across the West into his home area. *Nixon's theory* was that to declare any area as indefensible was tantamount to making a present of the area to the Communists. (His position on Quemoy and Matsu must be purely political.)

OCTOBER 13

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: Whether or not the islands would be defended has always been tied to this question which has never been publicly or fully answered: Are they really necessary to the defense of Formosa itself? Still, *the President has always avoided saying this country would get into war over Quemoy, just as Nixon is now saying it would.* (Nixon is shifty, indicates the AP.)

WASHINGTON, AP: The argument has become so intense that Nixon, the Republican candidate for President, is reviving his *party's old slogan* that the Democratic party is the party of war . . . (Again, the AP says this is just an old charge.)

LOS ANGELES, (Edson) AP: . . . this time he (Nixon) appears *far more confident* than he was for the other two. After, the first debate when, *due partly to bad make-up and lighting, Nixon looked pale and haggard,* even his friends glumly conceded he ran second. And *reporters traveling with him noticed that he never referred to the debate at all.* . . . at one point he asked if he might get a bit role in pictures, a question *considered to be very funny* since he's so set on landing the biggest star role this nation has to offer. (Is the AP saying Nixon lacked confidence and really was ill?)

LOS ANGELES, (Merriman Smith) UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon is *attempting to link American casualties* in the Korean War with Senator John F. Kennedy's current stand on Quemoy and Matsu. Whether Nixon pursues this harsh line of political battle in his third TV debate . . . (UPI apparently doesn't like this.)

NEW YORK, (William Theis) UPI: . . . with *his (Kennedy's) bold foreign policy attack* on the GOP candidate. (Kennedy's attack is good and bold.)

OCTOBER 14

HARTFORD, CONN., (Arthur Edson) AP: His (Nixon's) aides said he was met by the largest political crowd in the city's history. *However, newsmen recalled* that Franklin D. Roosevelt drew a far greater crowd in 1936. (The AP sets things right.)

LOS ANGELES, (Merriman Smith) UPI: If Senator John F. Kennedy expects to debate any more on television with Vice President Richard M. Nixon, he'd better keep his reference material out of sight or tell Nixon in advance that he plans to come so armed. . . . but otherwise he seemed to be a *considerably more confident, at-ease debater* than he was in his first two encounters when the principals were on the same stage only a few feet apart. (This suggested Nixon lacks confidence in himself.)

IN MICHIGAN WITH KENNEDY, (William Theis) UPI: . . . eager to press for a television edge over Vice President . . . And he was hoping that Nixon would feel compelled to agree to extend their debate series to include a fifth date close to the November 8 election. Many of his aides felt Kennedy gained ground *by being able to tag Nixon several times* for what he claimed were "misstatements of fact." (UPI gives the round to Kennedy.)

WASHINGTON, UPI: . . . Nixon *seemed to move closer* to the Administration's position that defense of Quemoy and Matsu . . . (The UP evaluates Nixon's position.)

OCTOBER 15

PHOENIX, ARIZ., (Arthur Edson) AP: The Vice President seemed to be backing down a bit on Matsu and Quemoy. This *has been one of the main points that Senator John F. Kennedy has been making, that Nixon's proposals went further than the Eisenhower Administrations.* But it *still isn't clear whether Nixon has shifted his position a bit,* or whether, in constant repetition, he has changed the phrases without meaning to change the meaning. (Again, it is the AP which charges Nixon with shiftiness.)

IN PENNSYLVANIA WITH KENNEDY, (William Theis) UPI: Kennedy drew *surprising crowds* in Southern and Central Michigan . . . (Who says they are surprising?)

LOS ANGELES, (Stewart Hensley) UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon's plan to intensify the "quest for peace and freedom" *appeared to be essentially a blueprint for trying to seize the psychological initiative* in the global struggle against communism. . . . *seemed to recognize* a widespread feeling that the vast physical and moral resources of the non-Communist world *are not being applied as effectively as they might be.* The Nixon plan is not likely to draw any great applause from foreign friends of the United States. It *does not promise* specific actions, a course which is *always more dramatic and understandable.* (Here UPI says the Administration hasn't been doing a good job.)

OCTOBER 17

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: The Presidential *candidates compounded confusion*—in their argument over Quemoy and Matsu—by ignoring what each other said and by *their own fuzziness.* (The AP pronounces judgment again.)

HARTFORD, Conn., (Whitney Shoemaker) AP: Vice President Richard M. Nixon *stuck by his Quemoy-Matsu guns* today. (Even if he is sinking, he's sticking to his guns.)

WASHINGTON, (Merriman Smith) UPI: Nixon, after starting out with relatively restrained references to the Chief Executive, has become positively rhapsodic on the point. A Nixon campaign

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prognosis for this week: tougher and tougher. (Again UPI sits in judgment.)

WASHINGTON, (William Theis) UPI:. . . (Kennedy) was broadening his attack with *better effect.*

WASHINGTON, UPI: He (Nixon) *freely predicts victory at party rallies,* but *privately seems to feel* that neither candidate can yet safely claim such key states as New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan and Ohio, which hold a lion's share of electoral votes. Kennedy, on the other hand, believes he is gaining the upper hand. He feels that the Vice President failed to score in their first three radio-TV debates . . . (Is UPI willing to say Nixon is losing and Kennedy winning?)

Three Weeks to Go

OCTOBER 18

EN ROUTE WITH NIXON IN FLORIDA, (Whitney Shoemaker) AP: *Few Negroes could be picked out* in the crowd that heard Nixon in the main park of a city that was stirred by racial unrest last month. (The AP went looking for them?)

WASHINGTON, AP: Kennedy, on the ground in Miami ahead of Nixon, took a cue from geography and *sought to saddle Nixon* with a big share of blame for the situation in Cuba, only 90 miles off Florida. (This language suggests Kennedy is not sincere.)

ALBANY, N.Y., (Michael Keating) AP: Henry Cabot Lodge *seemingly tripped up on words* again today. He at first told reporters he promised that a Negro would be appointed to the Federal cabinet if Vice President Richard M. Nixon were elected President. (Didn't the AP make the error?)

DETROIT, (Marvin Arrowsmith) AP: James C. Hagerty, Eisenhower's press secretary, was asked by newsmen how he squared that label with the fact that the President conferred in Detroit yesterday afternoon with a group of Michigan Republican candidates for Congress and State Office. In two Detroit speeches in advance of his address at the Auto Show dinner, the President cut loose at what he termed "evil propaganda" in the Presidential campaign . . . Eisenhower did not specify his target in informal talks at a civic reception . . . Eisenhower's audience of 2,200 at the Auto Show dinner in Detroit's new 54-million-dollar Cobo Hall was *made up mostly of industrialists.* Walter P. Reuther was not among the few labor leaders present, although he had been invited. The President's audience *listened in silence* when he called on management and labor to conduct their affairs with ever increasing responsibility. *There was silence, too, when he said poverty must be banished* in this country . . . *Applause did come,* however, when the President departed from his prepared text to say—*without explanation* in the light of his *earlier remarks*—that he has been "amazed and delighted by progress made" in recent years in the labor-management field. (Now the AP questions and challenges the President—and after all, this meeting was made up of "those" businessmen.)

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: But there's a sound reason why the *Senator is laying off the President himself.* It *might cost him votes* because Eisenhower is still so highly popular—so much *so that he could probably beat either Kennedy or . . . Nixon. No wonder he's been saying voters should "not think of the party label but think of the country first"* and vote for the better man. . . . Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, the *darling of the party's extreme right wing.* His *dilemma showed* up sharply when his Vice Presidential running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, *got loose in Harlem and sounded off* on the subject of Negroes. . . . he tried to *soft-pedal Lodge's* (Again, is the AP to question motives?)

EN ROUTE WITH NIXON, (Alvin Spivak) UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon flew to Florida today showing a *toughened fighting form* marked by a new intensity in his campaign attacks on Senator John F. Kennedy. (Nixon is bucking up, says UPI.)

NEW YORK, UPI: Adlai E. Stevenson *scored a smash hit* on Broadway last night in a one-night stand for the Democrats.

OCTOBER 19

NEW YORK, (Edmond Lebreton) AP: Even without the prospect of an additional face-to-face meeting, Kennedy's campaign for the closing weeks developed increasing *toughness toward Nixon personally.* In Jacksonville, in Cuba-conscious Florida, the Democratic *nominee last night snapped,* "I was not the Vice President of the United States who presided over the communization of Cuba." (The AP gives us a new editorial view of Kennedy.)

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: The statements of Henry Cabot Lodge, No. 2 man on the Republican Presidential ticket, are *getting him personal attention* over and *beyond the usual requirements* of the campaign. For instance: What he has had to say about a Negro in the Cabinet and about the legality of the U-2 spy-plane case. *He was back on the Cabinet-Negro theme* again yesterday. On October 12 in Harlem he said there should be a Negro in the Cabinet and added it is "part of our program" if Vice President Richard M. Nixon wins the Presidency and "it is offered as a pledge." *This was hardly the kind of remark which would exhilarate white Southerners at a time when Nixon was extremely anxious to induce a large chunk of the Democratic South to vote Republican.* (Again, the AP questions actions and motives.)

STATESVILLE, N. C., AP: Sam Rayburn, an *orator of the old-time political school,* continued his stumping tour of North Carolina *today with his guns aimed at all Republicans, big and little.* (Sam Rayburn gets the "soft sell.")

EN ROUTE WITH NIXON (Whitney Shoemaker) AP: Speaking to thousands of cheering listeners in a midtown square in Wilmington, Delaware, the Republican Presidential candidate bore *down on a familiar campaign theme.* And, *as in dozens of campaign talks,* he said America is the strongest nation in the world and under a Nixon Administration would increase that strength. (Nixon is merely talking to get votes.)

EN ROUTE WITH LODGE, (John A. Goldsmith) UPI: Republican Vice Presidential candidate Henry Cabot Lodge campaigned in upstate New York today *without modifying* his statements on the prospects for a Negro in the cabinet. (This harks back to AP error. Here UPI wants to know why Lodge hasn't modified his statement.)

WILMINGTON, DEL., (Alvin Spivak) UPI: The Vice President, for the most part, *gave the throng his "basic speech,"* boosting himself and running mate Henry Cabot Lodge . . . (UPI belittles Nixon's position.)

NEW YORK, (Warren Duffee) UPI: Senator John F. Kennedy, campaigning for New York's important 45 electoral votes, rode up Broadway's *"canyon of heroes"* today for thunderous, ticker-tape welcome. (And Kennedy becomes a hero.)

OCTOBER 20

TRENTON, TENN., (Bill Crider) AP: Harry Truman *delighted some* 5,000 persons . . . The 76-year-old former Democratic President *smiled benevolently . . . Truman noted sorrowfully . . .* This was an *impish reference . . . The crowd chuckled.* (Isn't Truman wonderful!)

SAN FRANCISCO, (William J. Eaton) UPI: If there were such a thing as a "kiddies' " vote, President Eisenhower would win it hands down. The 70-year-old grandfather of four seems to be making a special point of tweaking noses, tousling hair, chucking chins and shaking hands of children on his "non-political" tour. *This may be part of his soft-sell approach to campaigning for the Republican ticket this fall.* (Again, a questioning of motives.)

OCTOBER 24

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: *If this sounded like hair-splitting, it was nevertheless typical of this campaign in which the candidates don't differ on goals but only on the means of reaching them. Neither has really contributed any new ideas. Nixon, as he told newsmen he would before the campaign began, has talked largely in generalities, gone light on details. Kennedy has been much more specific, sometimes perhaps too laboriously specific. Both approaches can be interpreted as showing some misunderstanding of the electorate.* (The AP sets things straight—the candidates are only fooling you.)

NEW YORK, AP: *Rockefeller, who has been campaigning for the Nixon-Lodge ticket, did not mention Vice President Richard M. Nixon by name.* (This has deep and mysterious significance.)

NEW YORK, AP: *Passersby along the sidewalk appeared to show more interest in Rockefeller personally than in the national compaign.* (This *has* significance.)

WITH NIXON IN PENNSYLVANIA, (Jack Bell) AP: *The Republican candidate's theme was that Kennedy is too inexperienced and too impulsive to make a good President. And Nixon played this tune to the limit . . .* (It's all pretense, anyway.)

CHICAGO, (David Smothers) UPI: The Midwest verdict on the candidates' defense *quarrel* over the off-shore Chinese islands of Quemoy and Matsu probably will not be known until after election day. Nevertheless, *there were a few straws* in the wind indicating Kennedy's *unwillingness to pledge* certain support of the islands *appealed to traditional Midwest isolationism.* (Is that what Kennedy said?)

WITH KENNEDY IN ILLINOIS, (Theis) UPI: Senator John F. Kennedy, *convinced that the religious issue still is his big problem . . .* (Did he say so?)

WASHINGTON, UPI: *Cuba and Catholicism* loomed today above the other issues of the Presidential campaign, in spite of the dangers of hammering at a touchy foreign policy matter on one hand and agreement by both major candidates that religion should not count. *Vice President Richard M. Nixon was certain he had a hot topic in Cuba and planned to press his charge that Senator John F. Kennedy's proposals to check the spread of communism there were "recklessly dangerous." And Kennedy, although concentrating* now on the twin pocketbook issues of full employment and economic growth, was convinced that the religious issue still was his biggest problem. (Who kept the issue in the news?)

A Fortnight Is Left

OCTOBER 26

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: *Each of the Presidential candidates has pulled an international boo-boo: Vice-President Richard M. Nixon on Quemoy and Matsu; and Senator John F. Kennedy on Cuba. Nixon favored getting more deeply involved in the offshore islands than President Eisenhower was ever willing to permit and more than this country might go for in a showdown. If the candidates' dispute on these subjects proves anything, it's this: 1. That they've spent far more time discussing Cuba and Quemoy and Matsu than those islands are worth in comparison with all the other problems which Presidential candidates could be discussing at this moment. Nixon, who thought he had Kennedy at a disadvantage on Quemoy and Matsu, insisted the Senator discuss them. Now, apparently thinking he has his opponent at more of a disadvantage on Cuba, Nixon is insisting he discuss that.* (The AP sets the candidates straight.)

ABOARD NIXON TRAIN IN OHIO, (Smith) UPI: The Vice President campaigned in the rain across Southwest Ohio by train, attacking Kennedy at every whistle-stop for "running America down" and *fueling the Communist propaganda machine by describing United States prestige as having fallen during the Eisenhower Administration to "an all-time low," that being Nixon's version of what Kennedy has been saying.* (Look out for what Mr. Nixon says.)

ABOARD NIXON TRAIN IN OHIO, (Smith) UPI: Nixon had promised in this crucial next-to-last week of the Presidential campaign to "turn on the heat" in his speeches about his Democratic opponent. But *last night he took the steam out of what had been widely advertised as proof-positive that Kennedy was far off base in his arguments about Quemoy and Matsu, the Chinese Nationalist islands.* During the afternoon yesterday Nixon put out advance excerpts of his Cincinnati speech in which he categorically denied a basic charge by Kennedy that the Eisenhower Administration had tried to talk Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek into pulling out of Quemoy and Matsu. In his prepared text, Nixon said, "Senator Kennedy challenged me to deny this and I do flatly, categorically and emphatically . . . " He also accused the Massachusetts Senator of "glaring error of fact . . . complete inaccuracy . . . being irrevelant . . . more than incredible . . . " When he delivered his speech before probably the best political audience of his campaign thus far, a crowd of more than 16,000 wedged into the Cincinnati Gardens, Nixon did not mention Kennedy's challenge, nor did he use any of his prepared reply. (Mr. Nixon is not to be relied on.)

OCTOBER 27

WITH NIXON IN MICHIGAN: (Jack Bell) AP: *Nixon's growing emphasis on his backing of Eisenhower actions and policies paid off . . . The Vice President, who has access to information in this field that his opponent does not . . . Nixon was lavish in his praise of Eisenhower . . . And he identified himself closely with the President and this record by words like these:* (The AP explains Mr. Nixon to the voters.)

ABOARD NIXON TRAIN IN MICHIGAN, (Smith) UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon became *increasingly critical* of Senator John F. Kennedy's background of family wealth today as the Republican candidate whistle-stopped across Michigan where unemployment and the cost of living are vital election factors. There were numerous signs in the Ann Arbor crowd which were not self-explanatory. One, apparently painted on the back of a window shade said, "Say something, please," and another in red on a similar shade said, "What, me worry?" A third was apparently meant to depict an atomic blast and carried the legend, "U. S. prestige has never soared so high." A fourth sign read, "Which face today, Dick?" (A lot of people don't like Mr. Nixon.)

OCTOBER 28

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: Whether —under Kennedy or Nixon—more or less would be spent on defense, school construction, development of natural resources or the farm program is a matter of degree and not of essential difference. It's for this reason much of the Presidential campaign has revolved around the *personalities of the two men rather than around their programs or the issues they talk of.* (The AP dismisses the whole business.)

WITH NIXON IN ILLINOIS, (Jack Bell) AP: . . . *Nixon was the target for eggs and tomatoes tossed by individuals in otherwise friendly crowds.* (The people don't like Mr. Nixon.)

WASHINGTON, UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon took his Midwestern whistle-stop campaign into Illinois and Iowa today *leaving a series of ugly incidents behind him in Michigan and Indiana.* Nixon was splattered by eggs and tomatoes, heckled during his speeches and worried by a derailment scare yesterday. The incidents were the most unpleasant either candidate has encountered in the campaign. (A lot of people don't like Mr. Nixon.)

ABOARD NIXON TRAIN, (Eleazer) UPI: Last night in downtown Muskegon, two eggs were thrown at Nixon's car. One hit the top of the convertible, according to Klein, and splattered on two Nixon aides. The other egg struck the Vice President's coat. Two officers were hit by eggs earlier in the day. Hecklers shouted "Yea Kennedy" over and over when Nixon appeared outside the Muskegon arena after his scheduled speech inside. Numerous Kennedy banners were waved above the crowd. Nixon, who was booed and spat upon by demonstrators protesting his goodwill tour of South America in 1958, did not seem visibly shaken whenone egg struck his coat near the hem in Muskegon but the heckling brought his ire close to the point of anger. (A lot of people don't like Mr. Nixon.)

ABOARD NIXON TRAIN IN ILLNOIS, (Smith) UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon, *hit by*

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eggs and tomatoes and harassed by a bomb scare, drove his whistle-stop campaign into Illinois today through a screen of incidents that obscured major political pronouncements. In speaking to an audience of 8,300 in a new Muskegon sports arena, Nixon, although the target of an egg thrower on the way to the hall, was calm in his delivery of a serious foreign policy speech. (A lot of people don't like Mr. Nixon.)

ABOARD NIXON TRAIN IN ILLINOIS, (Smith) UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon, *fighting recession talk* from the Democratic camp, today *foresaw the necessity of Federal* fiscal and credit policies to restrain future economic booms. Moving through farming communities, the Vice President drew *decidedly smaller crowds* than he attracted yesterday in industrialized Michigan where he was the target of tomatoes, eggs and heckling. Another incident which marked his Thursday tour was the discovery of a metal canister tied to a rail ahead of the Nixon train in Indiana. Inspectors found it before the Nixon train reached the spot. (A lot of people don't like Mr. Nixon.)

ABOARD NIXON TRAIN IN ILLINOIS, (Smith) UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon, rasping and coughing in an early-morning Illinois fog, started a day of whistle-stopping with a *hoarse vow that tomatoes and eggs would not reduce the velocity of his campaign* against Senator John F. Kennedy. (A lot of people don't like Mr. Nixon.)

OCTOBER 29

WASHINGTON, AP: President Eisenhower has stepped deeper into the Presidential campaign, *patting Vice President Richard M. Nixon on the back* and attacking Senator John F. Kennedy. Nixon, the Republican candidate, was described last night as "extremely exhilarated" by the President's praise. Kennedy, the Democratic candidate, *didn't comment and kept right on criticizing* Administration policies. (What did the AP expect Senator Kennedy to do?)

WITH KENNEDY IN PENNSYLVANIA, (John Chadwick) AP: President Eisenhower . . . *plugged for the election of Vice President Richard M. Nixon.* He . . . took some *sharp jibes at Kennedy . . . Kennedy, however, could look back with elation on a day of campaigning* yesterday in Northeastern areas of Pennsylania suffering chronic economic ills and heavy unemployment. In a day and night motorcade through steel and coal mining communities he was *all but overwhelmed* by huge crowds that stormed around for a chance to shake his hand. (Thank goodness, Senator Kennedy is coming out of it all right.)

WASHINGTON, UPI: Nixon moved his campaign into Illinois today, with most of his attention centered on the suburban Chicago area. Kennedy arrived early today in Philadelphia where he will deliver a series of speeches in that city's suburban shopping belt. He was *fresh from enthusiastic greetings* elsewhere in Pennsylvania yesterday. (A lot of people like Senator Kennedy.)

WITH NIXON IN ILLINOIS, (Smith) UPI: Armed with new two-fisted support from President Eisenhower, Vice President Richard M. Nixon stormed across the political battle-ground of Illinois today *with fortified confidence* that the campaign tide is running strong for the Republicans. Nixon's campaign for the Presidency took on *new verve and drive.* His speech delivery seemed *more assured,* his *spirits were better and even his cold seemed to improve miraculously.* And all this after the incumbent Chief Executive, over nationwide television, joined Nixon in a slashing attack on Senator John F. Kennedy. (Mr. Nixon is rescued from despair.)

PHILADELPHIA, (Spivak) UPI: *Kennedy won a new accolade near the end of a highly successful* day of campaigning in northeastern Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Governor David L. Lawrence said the voters in that depressed area regard the Massachusetts Senator "as a Messiah to lead them out" of their difficulties. (Things are wonderful for Senator Kennedy.)

OCTOBER 31

PHILADELPHIA, (Geoffrey Gould) AP: A day-long schedule of motorcade stops that began in a drizzle showed *new bursts of enthusiasm* for the Democratic . . . *Kennedy got a screaming welcome* . . . (The people like Mr. Kennedy.)

PHILADELPHIA, (Geoffrey Gould) AP: In his *earnest restatement* of his position on separation of church and state, Kennedy burst out, "Nothing can be done about my religion. I am what I am and I'm going to be what I am." He said it was a legitimate issue but he hoped his stand was clear and that it would not be discussed again in the campaign. "What is there left to say?" he asked. . . . *screaming ovation.* Kennedy has *displayed his remarkable pulling power* again and again in these past days in Pennsylvania but there is always the question, do crowds equal votes? It is a question that won't be answered until November 8. Kennedy's statement about the dollar was aimed at recent speculation in gold in the London market, based on a rumor—*strongly denied by the Eisenhower Administration*—that the dollar might be devalued by increasing the US price for gold. In saying this, Kennedy denied that he had ever said we were in a recession. Several hours earlier, however, in a speech in Levittown, he said the Eisenhower Administration had "moved us to a recession in 1954 and 1958 . . . and a partial recession in 1960." (This time, Senator Kennedy stands corrected.)

PHILADELPHIA, (Geoffrey Gould) AP: . . . (Kennedy) said Vice President Richard M. Nixon has followed a *policy of soft pedaling* his Republican party label . . . (Is the AP questioning a man's motives?)

WASHINGTON, AP: *Despite their public claims,* it seems evident that the Nixon camp would regard the capture of New York's electoral votes as *political manna they don't really expect* to fall their way. (Don't believe those Nixon people.)

WASHINGTON, (Smith) UPI: There was a strong possibility, however, that Eisenhower would devote next Friday to appearances in areas Nixon calls the *"gut"* states because their large electoral vote constitutes the innards of a nationwide victory.

WASHINGTON, (Theis) UPI: Democratic political leaders think they smell victory for Senator John F. Kennedy and some of them even talk "landslide." But the Democratic Presidential candidate and his top aides still say it's a "close" fight against Vice President Richard M. Nixon, even though they think they are moving steadily ahead. There seems to be no dispute among reporters traveling with Kennedy that *he strikes sparks with the crowds.* Whatever the 43-year-old candidate's appeal, it produces a *volatile reaction* which goes beyond that of the teen-age girl "jumpers" and squealers who press forward at every rally. (Let's talk up a victory!)

WASHINGTON, (Smith) UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon is convinced that he is even with or ahead of Senator John F. Kennedy in seven important states with the largest electoral vote. But Nixon's mood as he approaches the final week of the Presidential campaign was that of a determined craftsman with a vast amount of work to be done in a short space of time. (On the other hand, Mr. Nixon . . .)

Week Before the Election

NOVEMBER 1

LOS ANGELES, (Geoffrey Gould) AP: At a *vociferous* student rally at Temple University in Philadelphia yesterday, Kennedy issued a scornful, taunting challenge to Nixon to bring President Eisenhower along to help him on a fifth television debate. And last night at a $100-a-plate party dinner at Philadelphia's *cavernous* Convention Hall, which drew upwards of 10,000 *highly enthusiastic partisans,* Kennedy delivered an affirmation of the kind of future . . . Kennedy's challenge to Nixon to bring Eisenhower along for a final debate *was unusual* in two respects. It was in a *mocking vein* and *obviously was not expected to be taken seriously* by Nixon or the President. And in it he mentioned Eisenhower by name, something he rarely does. He usually refers only to "this Administratio," of "Republican leadership." Then he launched his *"I believe" litany,* telling what he thinks the country needs . . . (The AP rises to the occasion.)

NOVEMBER 2

LOS ANGELES, (Geoffrey Gould) AP: The business of comparing crowd estimates of the two candidates has been called "crowdmanship" by Nixon. But Nixon at almost every speaking stop these days takes note of the crowd he has drawn, or mentions one at a previous stop. He says if such a crowd turns out for him he is sure to carry that State. (Don't believe those Nixon people.)

NEW YORK, AP: Addressing the huge crowd jamming Herald Square, Nixon taunted Kennedy about his running mate, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. Said Nixon: "I can take my colleague (Lodge) on a ticker-tape parade here in New York; my opponent can't do this." Nixon also jabbed at Kennedy for saying America is running behind in space and science. To a *thunder of cheers,* Nixon told those in the rally that it was "the greatest meeting of the campaign."

NEW YORK, (Jack Bell) AP: Nixon geared himself to a change in pace from the bristling charges he hurled against Kennedy in a rip-snorting, crowd-rousing tour of Pennsylvania and upstate New York yesterday. For the New York City swing with Eisenhower; his running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge; and Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, the Nixon strategy was to leave the attacks to others. Nixon *hoped to promote himself* and Lodge as an experienced team equipped to carry out the President's policies and to preserve the peace. In Rochester's war memorial auditorium, Nixon gave a stamping, shouting, drum-thumping crowd which overflowed the 9,500-seat hall some of the *political red meat* it was waiting for. (This Nixon is playing it coy.)

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: *Nixon is not, of course, in the same league with Eisenhower as a popular figure.* If he loses this year, then this seems a safe conclusion: Future Republican Presidential candidates have dismal prospects unless one of them is also an extraordinary figure, unless the Democrats make a complete mess of the government, or unless the country is in some unusual or turbulent situation which forces the voters to require change. (The AP puts Mr. Nixon in his place.)

NEW YORK, (Smith) UPI: Meanwhile, Nixon, who had *started out with what seemed to some to be almost an arm's length relationship toward many Eisenhower policies,* began to mention Eisenhower with increasing frequency and *embrace his policies.* Kennedy *had little political choice* but to shift targets and he began pot-shotting directly at the President. Some of the top Nixon people were complaining that Eisenhower was not doing his best for the Vice President's campaign. But more to the point, some of the President's closest friends and associates began to point out to him that Kennedy *was dirtying the Eisenhower picture in history and making him look boobish.* Some key Republicans now believe that in the eyes of much of the public, *Kennedy now finds himself running against Eisenhower.* (UPI clears things up.)

NEW YORK, (Eaton) UPI: Hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers paid President Eisenhower a rousingly affectionate tribute today as he rode triumphantly up Broadway to Herald Square with Vice President Nixon, the man he hopes will take his place in the White House. Wall Street was a mass of *tangled screaming humanity* as tons of confetti and ticker tape sifted down on the President, Nixon and running mate Henry Cabot Lodge. *Republican Governor Nelson Rockefeller estimated more than 2 million New Yorkers* turned out on the sunny streets at their lunch hour for the ticker-tape parade and a massive rally in Herald Square. But a *high-ranking* police officer who refused *to be quoted* by name—as well as several *newsmen* covering the tumultuous parade—said the total turnout was *nearer one million or a little less than the welcome given Democratic Presidential hopeful Senator John F. Kennedy last week in a similar, but shorter parade.* Eisenhower was the star of the day but in the three-mile procession up Broadway he took a literal back seat to Nixon, who stood up to receive the *screams and cheers* and a barrage of confetti, ticker tape and tons of paper. Obviously elated, Nixon acknowledged the crowd with a *beaming, open-mouthed smile and the raised arms of a conqueror.* The beginning of the traditional route was the same road Senator Kennedy took two weeks ago. Police estimated at least a million crowded out for that parade. The route was much longer today but even where the two paths paralleled, the *mass of admirers seemed bigger.* (Well, it wasn't as good as Senator Kennedy's.)

WITH KENNEDY IN CALIFORNIA, (Spivak) UPI: In beginning his talk, Kennedy said, "Mr. Nixon is calling me a liar nowadays and some other choice names." In his "polite" bounceback at Nixon, Kennedy said the Republican nominee's program is unfactual because it fails to take note of the nation's urgent need in education and other fields. (Mr. Nixon uses harsh words; Senator Kennedy is polite.)

WITH KENNEDY IN CALIFORNIA, (Spivak) UPI: Earlier, before perhaps 6,000 cheering supporters outside the Douglas Aircraft Company plant at Long Beach, California, Kennedy for the second consecutive day *teased Nixon* for his use of Eisenhower in the campaign. Amid laughter from the crowd, Kennedy said he understood Nixon spent two and a half hours at the White House Monday "asking the President to go with him to Pittsburgh and Cleveland." (This is great fun.)

NEW YORK, (Smith) UPI: President Eisenhower and Vice President Richard M. Nixon made their first side-by-side campaign swing today in a massive Republican onslaught on metropolitan New York. Republican strategists, with an eye to capturing the State's important 45 electoral votes for Nixon, *went all out to drum up a huge turnout* for the President and the GOP standard-bearer. (The GOP has to work hard to get a crowd.)

WASHINGTON, UPI: President Eisenhower today *starred in a razzle-dazzle Republican campaign spectacular* . . . (UPI color again.)

WASHINGTON, UPI: *In another nationwide TV plug for Nixon,* the President said, "The soundness of our money is important to all people . . . The soundness of the United States dollar is also important because the dollar has become the reserve back of most of the currencies of the world." (The Republicans are doing their hopeless best.)

NOVEMBER 3

EN ROUTE WITH KENNEDY, (Geoffrey Gould) AP: Senator John F. Kennedy today said "I think we ought to win—I think we must win" to preserve the future of the country. "I don't care how large the rescue squad grows in New York," he said to a *cheering, laughing crowd* of 15,000 in the stadium of the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque . . . (AP version No. 1.)

NEW YORK, (Relman Morin) AP: Vice President Richard M. Nixon's tour of Democratic New York City and Republican suburbs indicated today that he and Senator John F. Kennedy are running neck and neck. Not necessarily in terms of votes for President. There are conflicting reports on that. But in terms of the eight principal species of people who make up the crowds turning out for Kennedy and Nixon, the two candidates, *appear to be about even.* Kennedy has an edge among the jumpers, the shriekers and the squealers—mainly teen-agers and excitable young women. *Nixon seems to be ahead with the that's righters*—the person who quietly murmurs "that's right" when either candidate makes a point in a speech. (AP version No. 2.)

NEW YORK, (Marvin L. Arrowsmith) AP: Vice President Richard M. Nixon travels into the South today, jubilantly asserting that President Eisenhower's New York area campaigning in his behalf heralds a Republican victory in next Tuesday's election. Climaxing a day of vigorous plugging for the Nixon-Lodge ticket, Eisenhower last night touched off tumultuous acclaim in championing the GOP candidates and in hitting at Senator John F. Kennedy at a party rally in Manhattan's coliseum. So tremendous was the acclaim, so many times was Eisenhower interrupted by the wildly-cheering crowd, that *Nixon got to speak only a couple of minutes* before the rally proceedings—

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carried nationwide on television—went off the air. But the Vice President smilingly told his coast-to-coast audience: "I can only say that I am always glad to give up my time for the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower." Nixon called his day in New York the brightest of the Republican campaign and added: "It has started us to a great victory in New York and victory in the nation. Now let's go."

NEW YORK, (Jack Bell) AP: President Eisenhower's tandem campaigning with Vice President Richard M. Nixon appeared today *to have fallen short of delivering* a knockout punch in the battle for New York State's 45 electoral votes. Eisenhower gave lavish praise to Nixon and his running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, in a series of city and suburban appearances climaxed in a whistling, howling, stamping rally that overflowed New York's 6,000-seat coliseum last night. But the *high expectations* of Nixon's supporters that the President would direct withering political fire at Senator John F. Kennedy *were only partly realized.* Whatever his reasons, Eisenhower stuck to the kind of more or less nonpartisan talks in New York that come naturally to him. Far from being belligerent, Eisenhower was in a *mellow mood* as he spoke in some of his New York appearances about the approaching close of his Presidential tenure. (AP version No. 3.)

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: If you judged the Presidential candidates by what they've said of each other, you might get the impression one was a crooked card shark and the other a juvenile delinquent. The kid glove treatment has been reserved for President Eisenhower who is now up to his neck in the campaign himself, plugging for Vice President Richard M. Nixon. His appearance in the campaign brings it back to where it began and has been pretty much all along: a kind of personality contest. Still, his intervention for Nixon, if judged by his previous efforts for Republican Congressional candidates, *won't change anything.* Whatever political magic Eisenhower has for himself, so far it has proved *entirely limited to him. He couldn't rub it off* on his party. He's trying once more. It remains to be seen whether he can rub it off on Nixon. (AP version No. 4.)

COLUMBIA, S. C., (Smith) UPI: James Byrnes, Secretary of State under the Truman Administration, introduced the Vice President with a *doleful warning* that the Democratic party had "fallen into hands of men who have no regard for the Constitution and apparently are determined to destroy local government." Nixon *immediately seized on the encouragement* of Byrnes and other Democratic leaders such as Allan Shivers, former Governor of Texas, who was on hand. The GOP candidate belabored Kennedy for having said he could win without the South. (A drowning man grabs at a straw.)

NEW YORK, UPI: Republican Vice Presidential nominee Henry Cabot Lodge, who has a *reputation as a neat conservative dresser,* seeks votes today in the city's *usually-Democratic garment district* before taking his campaign to the GOP strongholds of Suffolk and Nassau Counties. (What is the significance of this?)

PHOENIX, ARIZ., (McFarland) UPI: *Conservative Arizona* gave Senator John F. Kennedy a *roaring, rollicking welcome in the wee hours today.* That mob was twice as big as the turnout for Arizona political hero Senator Barry Goldwater on his return from the Republican National Convention in Chicago where he was the only force—although a token one—against the nomination of Vice President Nixon. Kennedy *responded to the welcome with a friendly smile,* humor, and a needle for Goldwater. (Things are going well for us.)

EN ROUTE WITH KENNEDY, (Spivak) UPI: Kennedy again lengthily *recited the GOP's history* on social security legislation, starting in 1935 when "Franklin Roosevelt first asked for a social security bill (and) 90 per cent of the Republicans voted against it." (Is it the GOP record or Senator Kennedy's version of the record?)

NEW YORK, (Eaton) UPI: The tone of the President's speeches in New York and the suburbs was decidedly different from the slashing, indignant attack he threw at Kennedy in a speech from Philadelphia last Friday. The Philadelphia speech was a *deliberate attempt* to cut down Kennedy's stature as a critic of the Administration and defuse his oratorical ammunition against Nixon. Yesterday in the suburbs and Herald Square before hundreds of thousands of persons in the live audience and millions more on TV last night, Eisenhower *changed pitch perceptibly.* Instead of attempting to tear down Kennedy, he *sought to build up Nixon as he lavished praise* on the Vice President as his "personal representative . . . on major missions to most of the countries of the world." (Mr. Nixon and Mr. Eisenhower are getting more desperate.)

NOVEMBER 4

EN ROUTE WITH KENNEDY, (Geoffrey Gould) AP: Kennedy, accompanied by running mate Lyndon B. Johnson, spanned Texas yesterday, attempting *to cover all bets* in Johnson's home state with its bundle of 24 electoral votes. And he *drew a full house* last night in Oklahoma City, where he turned a Nixon slogan around and attacked the Vice President on his record of experience in foreign affairs. Kennedy said Nixon often has been wrong, reckless and uninformed. Kennedy rarely has mentioned his running mate in his campaigning in other parts of the country, but he called on the Johnson name heavily in crowd-rousing peptalk speeches in Texas. Throughout the campaign Kennedy has referred to his opponent only as Mr. Nixon. But yesterday he began to *jeer* at "Dick Nixon" or "Richard Milhouse Nixon" in a belittling way.

WASHINGTON, (James Marlow) AP: Where does that leave Nixon in these last few days before election when apparently he feels the greatest need for Eisenhower to demolish Kennedy, if he can? He seems caught in the middle between two political techniques—Eisenhower's and Kennedy's—which calls for wounding without blood-letting. It seems fair to conclude—judging from the way Eisenhower toned down his New York speech after the one in Philadelphia—that while the President wants to help Nixon, his campaign *for him will be something short of all-out.* (The AP indicates the President has reservations about Mr. Nixon.)

NORFOLK, AP: Senator John F. Kennedy came to Virginia today amid *confident predictions* from his campaign managers he was surging ahead to victory in the Presidential election. (Things are looking better all the time.)

FORT WORTH, TEXAS, (Conway) UPI: Senator Lyndon Johnson, Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, echoed Harry Truman's "Go to Hell" statement in a nice sort of way as he and . . . Nixon crossed paths today in Fort Worth. He took a slap at the splinter group "Texas Democrats for Nixon" led by renegade Democrat former Governor of Texas Allan Shivers. He said he didn't know what the group would do after the election, but: "I am sure they can make suitable arrangements through the Truman Travel Agency." (That terrible Shivers—we'll fix him!)

EN ROUTE WITH KENNEDY, (Spivak) UPI: Senator John F. Kennedy swung back into the South and Midwest today on a *rising tide of confident-sounding ridicule* of his Republican opponent, Vice President Richard M. Nixon. From Chicago tonight, after a demonstration which Democratic organizations leaders hope to turn into one of Kennedy's most *walloping welcomes,* the candidate will make the first in a series of four nationally-televised speeches between now and election day next Tuesday. (Things are going great!)

NOVEMBER 5

WASHINGTON, AP: In a busy day of campaigning, Vice President Richard M. Nixon called Senator John F. Kennedy a jumping jack, a pied piper from Boston, a medicine man, a Jackie-come-lately. But Kennedy began *looking more and more confident* as he left an enthusiastic reception in Chicago and headed for New York. (Senator Kennedy rises above such things.)

NEW YORK, (Relman Morin) AP: Senator John F. Kennedy, *looking increasingly confident* . . . Kennedy himself was still cautious—*publicly*—about the outcome of next Tuesday's Presidential election. And an *atmosphere bordering on "its-in-the-bag"* pervades the whole camp today. (Things are looking better for us.)

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., AP: Senator John L. McClellan, (D.-Ark.) today endorsed Senator John F. Kennedy in a *table-thumping, arm-swinging* 40-minute speech to a breakfast meeting of Democratic party faithful here.

WASHINGTON, UPI: President Eisenhower used the same issue last night to *strike his next-to-last blow against the hopes of the Democratic Senator* from Massachusetts to succeed him in the White House. Vice President Nixon, making a *last-stand* try to clinch his home state's 32 electoral votes, told a San Jose, California, audience that Kennedy's proposed financial program was nothing but "synthetic bunk." And Kennedy, embarking on a busy day of motorcading and speech-making in New York in a final drive for the Empire State's 45 electoral votes, declared that the *campaign tide is moving in his direction*—partly because "economic issues are hitting harder now." (But, UPI is glad to find Senator Kennedy in good shape.)

WITH NIXON IN CALIFORNIA, (Smith) UPI: Vice President Richard M. Nixon today made a *last-stand try* for the 32 electoral votes of his native state where the lines of inter-party conflict are tangled and difficult to separate. The GOP Presidential candidate arrived in the central valley city of Fresno last night with an *urgent appeal* to Democrats to switch over to the Republican column next Tuesday. The Democrats hold a sizeable advantage in registrations in this State. His *voice was growing hoarse again,* at times he *looked noticeably fatigued;* but the *vigor of his language against his opponent grew increasingly heated.* In a period of less than 14 hours yesterday and last night, Nixon in talks from Fort Worth, Texas, to Fresno called the Massachusetts Senator "the Pied Piper from Boston . . . (an advocate of) totalitarian methods . . . inexperienced . . . (supporter of) police state-type controls . . . despicable and vicious . . . frantic . . . economic ignoramus." *It seemed unlikely that he could or would employ angrier labels than these as he drove* determindly toward the climax of the most rigorous Presidential campaign in history. (Mr. Nixon is getting desperate—look out.)

PITTSBURGH, (Nassikas) UPI: Truman, *speaking in a subdued tone of voice,* told a crowd, estimated by police at between 8,500 and 10,000, that the Republican Presidential candidate played up to big business . . . The *fiery former Chief Executive* . . .

CHICAGO, (Irwin) UPI: Hundreds of thousands of persons carrying torchlights and campaign signs, but two toting guns, gave John F. Kennedy a rip-roaring, Chicago-style welcome last night. Captain James McMahon, chief of detectives, estimated the throngs at 1,500,000 but *newsmen accompanying* the Kennedy party said this *figure was quite high.* They said they believed the crowd that *greeted Kennedy in New York was much larger* and that crowd was estimated at less than 1,500,000.

EN ROUTE WITH KENNEDY, (Spivak) UPI: Senator John F. Kennedy campaigned *furiously* across the Southwest today and *sneered* at Vice President Richard Nixon's charge that he told a "bare-faced lie" when he accused the Republicans of consistently opposing social security.

EN ROUTE WITH NIXON, (Marvin Arrowsmith) AP: Vice President Richard M. Nixon, battling for the 32 electoral votes of his home state of California, today accused Senator John F. Kennedy of talking "synthetic bunk" on financing of the Democratic program. Nixon, Republican candidate for the Presidency, arrived in the central California community of Fresno last night, got a tumultuous welcome from a police-estimated crowd of 15,000 which surged out of control at times, and arranged a busy day in the State today. At the outdoor rally Nixon addressed in Fresno, *he drew laughter* in likening Kennedy to an old fashioned medicine man peddling a cure-all. The medicine man, Nixon went on, used to have to get out of town. The Vice President then said that before "Mr. Kennedy can get out of town they are going to vote him down on November 8."

HOUSTON, (Conway) UPI: Supporters of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson today demanded that Vice President Richard Nixon make a public apology for the unruly mob of Republicans that jostled and jeered the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate and mussed up his wife's hair. In the midst of the mob of about 1,000 persons, *made up mostly of business men and young girls,* was Representative Bruce Alger, Texas' only Republican Congressman. He carried a sign that said: "LBJ sold out to Yankee socialists." (What is the UPI trying to indicate here?)

NOVEMBER 7

WITH KENNEDY IN NEW ENGLAND, (Relman Morin) AP: Senator John F. Kennedy roared into the final day of his Presidential campaign today, redoubling his attacks on Vice President Richard M. Nixon, and insisting that "this is a close election." As the zero hour neared, his lieutenants radiated optimism about the outcome of tomorrow's election. There was an atmosphere in his camp of "It's all over but the tabulating." (Things are looking better and better.)

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, AP: Vice President Richard M. Nixon swept into the Midwest from Alaska today for a marathon final day of campaigning in his quest for the Presidency. By midnight tonight he will have sped 7,000 miles in 32 hours by chartered jet airliner in a barnstorming blitz, circling from Los Angeles to Alaska, the continental heartland and return.

HOUSTON, TEXAS, (Conway) UPI: Senator Lyndon Johnson, shaken by repeated *vicious hecklings* given him and his wife while campaigning in his home state . . .

NOVEMBER 8

WASHINGTON, UPI: President Eisenhower, the all-time champ among Republican vote-getters, has made his last big political effort to *put his own choice* in the White House as his successor. Whatever the outcome of today's vote, there will be no sure measure of the success of his attempt to transfer his own great popularity to Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the Republican candidate for President. Not since 1952 has he been able to achieve that transfer and *pull his own party to victory on his coat-tails.* (The last desperate gamble.)

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

Foreign countries tell us to go home and just leave them a loan.

—From the Philadelphia News

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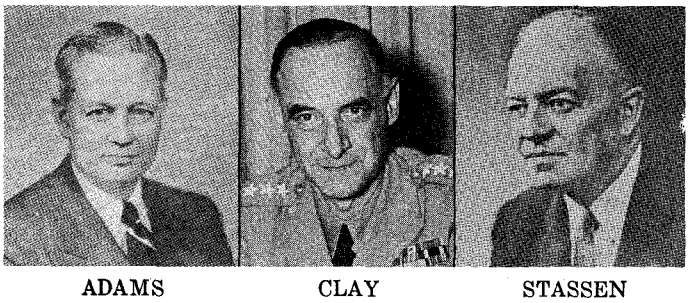
An Attempt to Dump Vice President Nixon in 1956

The Stassen-Clay Plot that Failed

By Walter Trohan

THE INSIDE STORY of a political plot, the success of which might have wrecked the Republican party for all time, will be unfolded one of these days when Leonard Hall, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, sits down to write his memoirs of the four Presidential campaigns of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Thomas E. Dewey.



ADAMS CLAY STASSEN

The plot that failed was the attempt to dump Richard M. Nixon as the Vice Presidential candidate in 1956.

This was spearheaded by Harold E. Stassen, the former boy governor of Minnesota, who was a three-time Presidential hopeful until he lowered his sights to be defeated for the GOP gubernatorial nomination in Pennsylvania by a pretzel bender and for mayor of Philadelphia by a man who was encouraged to enter politics by a psychiatrist.

Hall knows better than anyone else that there was method in Stassen's apparent madness. Stassen didn't want the nomination himself as some suspected or for Christian Herter, former governor of Massachusetts, as he professed, but was spearheading a campaign to put Sherman Adams, the former governor of New Hampshire and at the time No. 1 White House aide, on the ticket as Vice President.

If the plot, which is revealed here for the first time, had been successful, the Republican party would have found the vicuna coat and oriental rug scandals which forced Adams' retirement revolving around its Vice President and potential Presidential candidate.

It is doubtful whether the party could have entered the 1960 campaign with the slightest expectation of victory. It is doubtful whether it could have survived as the entity it is.

Stassen was not alone in the plot, although he was its spearhead. In the background were a number of powerful but shadowy figures, who were letting him burn his fingers for reasons best known to themselves, which may have included what seemed to them to be the best interests of the party.

One of these was identified by Lyle C. Wilson, the able Washington bureau chief of United Press International, as General Lucius Clay, the administrative general as distinct from the fighting general.

Clay was among those who urged former President Eisenhower to encourage a wide open fight for second place with him in 1956 as a means of strengthening the Republican party, a bit of reasoning which was and is open to challenge.

When Clay was identified among the plotters, he phoned a top Nixon aide to suggest that the Vice President deny the story. The aide promptly suggested that the proper avenue of denial was the general himself because the Vice President could not know what the general might or might not be up to.

In his memoirs, *First Hand Report,* Sherman Adams reports that he didn't attempt to talk Stassen out of the plan because he could see that the former governor was determined to go ahead.

Adams gives Hall credit for exploding the plot by making it clear that Eisenhower was happy with Nixon. Adams agrees Eisenhower was happy enough with Nixon but says that the choice of Nixon in 1956 had been made by Hall and the GOP National Committee. Adams doesn't intimate he was the choice of the plotters, even if he knew it.

Clay was asked by this reporter if he regretted his dabbling in politics, which might have jolted the party even more than Nixon's defeat last fall. He attempted to stare the questioner down and affirmed that he didn't know what his questioner was talking about.

After the dump-Nixon movement collapsed, Clay sent a check for $5,000 made out personally to Richard M. Nixon instead of to the party or the campaign. Nixon sent it back.

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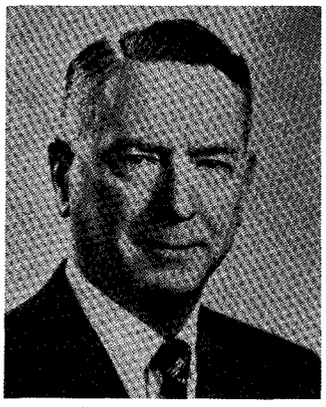
The GOP Moves South

By Congressman William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.)

REPUBLICANISM in the 12 states of the South today is a dynamic force. After nearly a century of token opposition, the Republican party today is undergoing a resurgence in the South, which is stimulating an all-out effort in selected Congressional races during 1962. A ground-swell of opposition to the welfare-state New Frontier is growing—and it is becoming clear that only the Republican control of the House can stop the barrels of big spending with expanding Federal control.



JONAS

TOWER

Rather than scattering their fire, Republicans are selecting "target" districts wherever the soft underbelly of the Democratic dissent has shown itself in Dixie.

Chief targets will be in Florida and Texas but other states also will come in for close attention. In the Sunshine State, four new Congressional Districts will give Republicans an opportunity to pick up two seats in middle and southern coastal areas of Florida to add to the one now held. In Texas, the GOP is accelerating the momentum generated by the stunning victory of Senator John Tower, and now has its eye on two additional Congressional seats to add to that held by Bruce Alger. Republicans already have a strong candidate for this November's election to pick a successor to Democratic Congressman Kilday, who has resigned to accept a judgeship.

Other key areas will include North Carolina, where Republicans hope to re-elect Charles Jonas of Lincolnton and to pick up two more seats in an at-large free-for-all. Two top former officials of the State Young Democratic Organization have switched to the GOP because they are fed up with the New Frontier.

In South Carolina, the election of Charles Boineau to the state legislature as the first GOP member since Reconstruction days and the fact that the state was nearly carried by Richard Nixon in 1960, is encouraging strong GOP efforts to seize a Congressional seat there.

Tennessee's two-man GOP Congressional delegation also would be increased in the 1962 campaign. In another border state, Kentucky, the spirited campaign expected between Senator Thruston B. Morton and Lieutenant Governor Wilson Wyatt will add Republican enthusiasm to Congressional races.

In Georgia, a revitalized grass-roots Republican organization is concentrating on two districts. One of these, in the Atlanta area, is expected to be helped considerably by the scheduled establishment of a conservative daily newspaper in Atlanta.

Disenchantment with the Democratic Administration is running high in the South. The recent local election successes of Republicans indicate that the South sees through the New Frontier determination to brush off Southern influence and its opposition to long-held Southern beliefs.

Republicans are going about their Southern assault with cool, vigorous and effective methods. Emphasis is put on local organizations, selection of candidates, careful development of issues and considerable help from the national level.

Book Review

'Good Friday—1963'

Otis Carney's *Good Friday*—1963 (William Morrow & Company) is a novel about a journey into the heart of one man—and into the soul of America.

On Good Friday, 1962—so begins this compelling parable for our times—Dr. Matthew Bone, eminent scientist and Chairman of the President's Defense Plans Committee, walked up the steps of the Lincoln Memorial . . . and there, in front of the towering figure inside, took his own life.

What could have driven Matthew Bone to suicide—this man whose family life was more than casually happy . . . whose recently completed tour of Europe, Africa and Asia would have insured his appointment as the next Secretary of Defense?

It was a question asked by Adam Seaver, the Senate Majority Leader . . . by the Minority Leader, Harry Ballane . . . and by the President himself, as he read and reread Bone's suicide note—a note telling of his transmittal of vital information to selected persons in and outside of the government . . .

As the author explores the reasons behind Matthew Bone's apparent suicide, taking us back to Bone's past—where success had been increasingly synonymous with compromise—and ahead into the very near future, the reader becomes aware that here, in the form of a novel, is a deeply felt and significant statement concerning the individual's role in the United States today and, in turn, the role of the United States in today's world. It is, in short, a dramatic and persuasive plea to mend our fences before a disastrous *Good Friday*—1963, becomes a reality.

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The Disarmament Bill

By Congressman H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa)

NOTHING more fantastic by way of legislation has ever been driven through the House of Representatives than the bill approved recently which creates a new super-duper disarmament agency.

I yield to no man in the desire for peace for my family, myself, and all mankind. No man, who has had even the slightest exposure to actual military combat, can be reasonable and want war. But as long as there is lust for power and selfishness in the minds and hearts of men in high places there will be the necessity for armed force and the potential for war.

As I stated on the House floor during debate, it is beyond belief that at the very same time the United States is spending $50,000,000,000 a year in preparation for war (call it defense if you like), there should be established in this government a disarmament setup at a cost of $10,000,000 a year.

Common sense ought to tell Congress that for the foreseeable future the existing U. S. Disarmament Administration, now being maintained at a cost of $700,000 to $1 million a year, is sufficient to deal with any disarmament conferences that may take place.

Incidentally, the taxpayers who foot the bills ought to know that the United Nations, to which $200,000,000 of their money is contributed each year, is charged in its charter with responsibility for arms control and disarmament.

So an elite corps has been established, with a director at $22,500 a year; a deputy director at $21,500, and four assistant directors at $20,000 per year. In addition, there will be 30 individuals whose salaries will run from $16,000 to $19,000 each year.

Then there will be a general advisory committee of 15 members who will be paid $100 per day while giving advice; and an unlimited number of consultants may be hired at $100 per day.

Last but not least, it is provided that an unlimited number of advisory boards may be established—there could be such a board in each of the 50 states of the union—and each member (the number on each board unlimited) could also be paid at the rate of $100 per day.

Every individual listed above, including the advisory committee, will, of course, be paid his expenses which now go to $16 per day for a hotel room and meals.

To set up a super-duper disarmament agency as this bill now provides, in view of the situation that exists in the world, is not only incredible but it is dangerous for it can well be interpreted by hundreds of millions of persons throughout the world that this country is in retreat.

If the United Nations should collapse, the most harrowing prospect is that the American people might be asked to find another job on the public payroll for Adlai Stevenson.

—Indianapolis Star

The Twisted Quote that Stuck

Charles E. Wilson, former Secretary of Defense and former General Motors chief, who died the other day, was most famous for a remark he never made. After a closed Senate hearing in 1953, he was quoted as saying: "What's good for General Motors is good for the country."

WILSON

What Wilson actually said, as a transcript later showed, was: "For years I thought that what was good for our country was good for General Motors, and vice versa." An opposition Senator, reporting the conversation to newsmen, twisted the "vice versa" into the false quote. But it stuck.

$969 a Month on Relief

From the Chattanooga News-Free Press

How'd you like to get $969 a month—and without working?

Well, one family is doing it, all at taxpayers' expense. In Newark, New Jersey, a check of "welfare" rolls has turned up a case of a "family unit" with 23 children—15 of whom are illegitimate.

The more children, the more tax support. So the taxpayers are paying $969 a month, through one program or another, to support a huge den of repetitive immorality.

A New Jersey state senator making the investigation that turned up this case has suggested some changes in the welfare program will be proposed. If they are realistic, he can batten down his hatches and expect a real storm from the "bleeding hearts" who cry out for those abusing welfare programs, but never have a tear for the taxpayers who are being taken for a ride.

When Newburgh, New York, acted reasonably to curb abuses, it quickly came under organized attack.

The question constantly arises as to whether taxpayers should be forced to subsidize the repeated production of illegitimate children. The immediate answer ought to be an emphatic "No." Necessarily coupled with that answer is a responsibility to take care of the children while denying assistance to those adults involved in immorality.

There are two reasonable ways of doing this. The first, and most realistic, is to require the mothers of illegitimate children to take court action to require financial support by the fathers before any application for public aid is entertained. This would put the initial responsibility where it belongs. And in cases where this does not bring solution, foster home care should be considered to protect children but deny public funds to immoral adults.

It's time for Americans to face up to the facts of welfare chiseling, applying both hard common sense and a spirit of humanity.

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The Drug Industry

By Irene Corbally Kuhn

SO ACCUSTOMED have we become to the miracle drugs, all of them of relatively recent origin, that we tend to forget they did not come out of a magician's hat. Instead, millions of dollars and man hours were poured into pharmaceutical research by the many companies comprising this industry.

Of 36 basic drug discoveries made during the past 25 years, U. S. industry developed 42.2 per cent; other countries 30.6 per cent. Independent researchers accounted for only 22.2 per cent. These figures justify the industry's vast expenditure for research.

However, success and progress are always dogged by special problems. The more successful an individual or a business, the more pot shots are aimed at it from all sides. The industrial enterprise which is the U. S. pharmaceutical business, although it has contributed more than any other group to our health and well-being, has come under sharp attack because it also makes a profit.

Nobody likes to pay $10 or $15 for a dozen pills or capsules. But behind the drugstore's $15 price are several million dollars of manufacturers' time and effort and specialized knowledge and skill. An average eight cents of every sales dollar is invested in research and drug development by the industry which spent approximately $200,000,000 for this purpose last year.

The long-term research, the laboratory testing, the quality control procedures, the toxicity studies to produce one single drug more often than not take several years and require a major investment before the drug can be considered ready to accomplish its hoped-for life-saving miracle on sick human beings.

Even then there is still no guarantee it will work in actual practice. Many drugs which have been full of promise in the test tube have had to be abandoned because they did not meet the rigid requirements of American medicine.

But this long, arduous and expensive procedure has given doctors the means to wipe out mastoiditis, spinal meningitis, scourges as bad as polio only a few years ago. It has brought victory over other infections which earlier could not be controlled and meant death. Bacterial endocarditis, a deadly infection of the heart lining, was once a sentence of death. Penicillin has overcome this deadly bug as it has many others. Diabetes is under control. So are countless viruses. Round the clock, in every laboratory worthy of its name, science is searching for answers to diseases as yet beyond the reach of effective medical control or eradication—heart disease, cancer, many virus-caused illnesses that still baffle medicine, including the common cold.

Profits are a legitimate part of our competitive system of free enterprise where a man is entitled to benefit from his individual knowledge, skill and industry. It is not a dirty word as in Communist countries. Profits are needed to continue the endless quest of the "drug detectives" in cooperation with the medical profession to find new answers to old ills. The accruing benefits are not confined to capitalist countries but go out to all mankind.

Now We've Heard Everything!

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer

Word comes from the United Nations that Soviet delegate Valerian Zorin has protested Belgian "interference" in the African trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi. His specific charge was that Belgians were taking measures to prevent a free expression of will by the population in the coming elections.

Did anyone ever hear of the Soviet Union or any Communist-dominated country permitting a free expression of will by the population? It takes nerve to bring up this sort of issue, but the Soviet has it.

Congressman Cunningham's Taped Interview—$7

Glenn C. Cunningham, third term Republican Congressman from Nebraska's second district, is the guest on this week's Congressional Interview. Mr. Cunningham, a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and an authority on the matter of Communist propaganda, discusses the free delivery in this country of mail originating in the Soviet Union. Speaking in terms of the tremendous flow of such material, the defeat of a bill to curb its free delivery, and the Executive Branch's attitude on the subject, Mr. Cunningham creates a timely and vitally interesting interview.

CUNNINGHAM

This 12½-minute tape-recorded interview is the thirty-first in the 1961 series of HUMAN EVENTS CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW.

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29. James E. Bromwell (R.-Iowa.)
30. William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.)

The 12½-minute length of these interviews makes them ideal for a 15-minute radio program. Many serve as the weekly highlight of organization meetings.

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'God Knows Everything, But the Government Knows Everything Better'

By JOHN J. ALPAR, M.D.

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UNION or government medicine are equivalent terms in a Communist country (Russia as well as the satellite states), since the labor unions are the only organizations which exist. The first right that is taken away from the people is the right to work. Everybody—doctors, judges, lawyers, merchants, teachers and so on—must belong to the labor unions. Through this setup, the unions control fully the individual's life, at home as well as at work. The name of the government medical organization in Hungary is the Center of the Trade Unions for Social Security.

The medical profession has nothing to do with the management of the government medical system; therefore, the entire organization is infected with bureaucrats and bureaucratic procedures. If the patient wants something, he has to fill out several obscure papers. (Dr. C. N. Parkinson, in his book entitled *Parkinson's Law and Other Studies in Administration,* has given some ideas about the idiocy of the bureaucrats.)

The physician has to spend about 50 per cent of his time with papers of different shapes and colors to prevent the use of carbon paper. Time allowed for a physical examination is limited. The labor union compares the efficiency of a clinic with that of a factory, and strict orders are issued as to how much time a doctor can spend with a patient. My time, as an ophthalmologist, was limited to an average of three minutes per patient, but when I left the country, there was a movement to decrease this time to from 1.75 to 2.25 minutes.

Many of the patients go to the doctor to have a day or two off, and the doctors' decisions are based mostly on nonmedical facts. After several hours of waiting, the patient is able to see the doctor. To save time, there are more than one patient in the physician's office: the one presenting his papers and others who are waiting to be examined, who have been examined, and who are having post-examination papers completed.

AFTER the examination the physician has to decide what the patient is to do. Very few patients wish to return to work. About half of them want to go home for sick leave. The other 50 per cent want to go to the hospital and stay there for weeks because they get food, it is warm there, and they do not have to work.

The doctor has to find out how great the patient's union and party connections are, and how much of his demands are blackmail. Also, the physician has to consider his own position with the unions and the party because:

1. If he believes that the patient is sick and should not work, but the panel of overseers (usually composed of one doctor, who is a bureaucrat, and three or four union men) think he should, the physician is in trouble.

2. If he thinks the patient is not sick but if the patient believes that he is and has powerful connections, the physician is in trouble.

3. If the patient has no powerful connections, he is in trouble.

There is no free choice in selecting a physician; furthermore, there are no medical secrets or privacy. The workers' panel examines all of the records. They make medical decisions, and by political pressure can force doctors and patients alike to follow their way. If, for instance, a woman wants to have an artificial abortion, the panel can force any doctor to perform the operation. If he refuses, he is "a servant of the clerical reactionists."

OF COURSE, under these circumstances, the doctor-patient relationship is destroyed. So are the standards of medicine, since there is no hope for medical practitioners to advance in position or in finances, nor is there competition. No physician reads or tries to invent anything. The bureaucratic red tape has stilled everything. When the doctor finishes his daily fight with patients and the union bosses, he goes home and cleans the house, and perhaps fixes the faucets because he cannot afford to hire someone to do it for him. Laymen decide which instruments he needs and when, and many times it takes months to get a replacement because it is not in the plans and budgets.

Who suffers from this system? Much more the patient than the doctor. Who likes it? Nobody.

In spite of the inferior care it affords, the cost of the system continues to increase. In a magazine I received recently from Hungary, figures on the cost of the government medical program are given. In 1958 this cost was $900,000,000 more than in 1957; it was at that time $9,600,000,000. The number of beds in hospitals and homes for the aged has increased only from 47,000 in 1948 to 70,000 in 1958.

Socialization of Hungary occurred in 1947. Dr. Alpar, who was born in Budapest in 1925, writes of medical practice in a Communistic regime during a nine year period. For three of these years he was a medical student; for the other six, a physician. The author now specializes in diseases of the eye in Amarillo, Texas.

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The State Department

By Congressman Charles Gubser (R.-Calif.)

One rather blunt fact must be faced by Americans. We can appropriate all the foreign aid money we wish; we can even appropriate another $100 billion to go with what we've already spent; we can form more MSA's, more ICA's, more Peace Corps and Disarmament Agencies. But, all of this money and all of these agencies will never counterbalance the absence of a vigorous, anti-Communist policy in our own State Department. None of these things will ever compensate for the incredible silence and acquiescence of our State Department in the Communist take-over of major hunks of the world.

It was silence and acquiescence at Teheran in 1943 that gave aid to Communist Tito and brought about the execution of General Mikhailovich in 1946. The same silence allowed the rape of Poland as revealed by our own Ambassador, Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane. Lack of a vigorous, anti-Communist policy allowed the Chinese Communists to be accepted as "simple agrarian reformers." This same lack declared Korea as outside our "defense perimeter" and then prevented MacArthur from winning the war which resulted. The same lackadaisical attitude refused to recognize Castro and Che Guevera as Communist Revolutionaries and failed to stop British Guiana from going past the Communist point of no return.

And now it is Katanga. Next it will be Northern Rhodesia; then more agencies and more money—when what we really need is a State Department with some backbone!

Farmer Rejects Subsidies

Letter to Harrisonburg (Va.) Daily News

I am a farmer in Deaf Smith County in Texas and have 960 acres. The Kennedy farm program will pay on this farm next year: $10,000 for not growing 200 acres milo, $5,000 for not growing 90 acres wheat and $3,000 conservation practices—a total of $18,000 and the soil bank program of the past Administration has not been mentioned.

I still have 700 acres of land to irrigate and fertilize. The government will guarantee me money on my wheat and milo.

How *can* I lose? How *stupid* can the taxpayers get?

Murl McCasland

P. S. I have refused the money!

Washington Wisecrack

The "most-quoted" current wisecrack at Capital cocktail parties is the following item from Fletcher Knebel's "Potomac Fever": "Washington social notes: Jacqueline Kennedy of Cape Cod was in the city briefly this week for a visit with relatives. She was well known here when her husband was Senator from Massachusetts."

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Peace Corps Wardrobe

The Dallas *News* recently reported the case of Jan Lemoyne Hedges, a graduate of the Peace Corps training school at El Paso, who was sent to Dallas to purchase a suitable wardrobe for his forthcoming tour of duty in Tanganyika, Africa. His wardrobe was to include a tuxedo, pleated shirts, soft-leather dancing pumps and silk stockings.

"Oh, it's a must for Tanganyika," Hedges told a reporter. "We'll associate mostly with Britons, and you know how formal they are. There will be many social functions we'll attend, and they told us we'd feel more at ease with tuxedos than with dark suits."

Commented the Dallas *News*: "For a member of the Peace Corps, an outfit dedicated to the fact that friends can be won easier with brawn than with cocktail diplomacy, this is like Fidel Castro shopping for shaving lotion."

Keynes' Early Philosophy

John Maynard Keynes, the English economist responsible for the liberal philosophy that deficit government spending is the road to national prosperity, was an anti-inflationist in his early days. On pages 235 and 236 of his book, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920), Keynes wrote:

"Lenin is said to have declared that the best way to destroy the capitalist system was to debauch the currency. By a continuing process of inflation, governments can confiscate, secretly and unobserved, an important part of the wealth of their citizens. By this method they not only confiscate, but they confiscate *arbitrarily;* and, while the process impoverishes many, it actually enriches some. The sight of this arbitrary rearrangement of riches strikes not only at security, but at confidence in the equity of the existing distribution of wealth . . . . Lenin was certainly right. There is no subtler, no surer means of overturning the existing basis of society than to debauch the currency. The process engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction and does it in a manner which not one man in a million is able to diagnose."

Post Office Plaque Switching

A new post office in Monroe, Iowa, was recently the scene of another New Frontier plaque-switching incident. Having been almost completed under the Eisenhower Administration, the building was originally dedicated to Ike. Recently, however, in carrying out orders from higher up, local officials removed the original plaque and replaced it with one describing the post office as having been completed during the Kennedy Administration. Republican Congressman John Kyl of Iowa wrote the following verse about the affair:

"Little plaque upon the wall,
Who is the fairest one of all?
Is this a gift of Ike's or Jack's,
Or just the man who pays the tax?"

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The FRAUD of the Welfare State

By Stephen B. Miles, Jr.
From The Freeman Magazine

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY years ago, Jeremy Bentham proclaimed that the supreme good is "the greatest good of the greatest number." This doctrine, interpreted to subordinate individual to social values, has become the ethical foundation of the Welfare State.

But what is "welfare"? And what is "happiness"? Let us see what Webster says:

"Welfare. 1. State of faring, or doing well, esp., condition of health, prosperity, etc."

"Happiness. 1. Good luck; good fortune; prosperity. 2. A state of well-being and pleasurable satisfaction; bliss."

For all practical purposes, then, "welfare" and "happiness," in dictionary language, seem to be almost synonymous. And the "welfare state," as we know it, fulfills the requirements of neither!

As men and women, and even as children, all of us want out of life—more than anything else—to have a sense of self-respect and a feeling of control over our environment sufficient, at least, to establish a basic independence. When these conditions are not present, we are not "happy" and we do not consider ourselves to be "faring, or doing well."

What is the game children like best? Isn't it pretending to be grown up? And what is it about being grown up that catches their fancy? Isn't it their idea that grownups always "do what they want to do"—that is, control their environment instead of being controlled by it?

Most parents have had the experience of urging their children in vain to do something that was good for them. Assuming that unquestioning obedience has not been demanded under similar circumstances in the past, the compliance is likely to be, at best, tearful and reluctant. But let the child find out for himself that he *wants* to do it—and then watch him plunge enthusiastically into the very same activity! What is the difference? It is not that by nature he is disobedient or resentful of authority. It is just that, in proportion to the amount of life in them, children as well as grownups yearn to feel that they are controlled from inside rather than outside. (One of the principal problems of parents and others in authority, therefore, is to learn how to elicit obedience in such a way that it will nurture rather than strangle this craving.)

Attaining Goals

To be sure, children are (also like grownups) often spoiled. The child of rich parents may be given all his

NEW FRONTIER:
"I'll give you security from the cradle to the grave if you will just let me handle the cream of your income."
YOUTH

heart desires even before he asks for it. And he probably will become a brat. Why? Because he is never given a chance to clearly formulate his wants and then use his personal strengths and abilities in attaining them. And because this natural path to freedom and the establishment of mastery and responsibility is closed to him, he must seek to develop whatever misshapen substitutes he can. Although he *seems* to be in control, actually he is at the mercy of his environment even more than the poor kid who never gets what he wants, but at least is allowed to work for it.

By working, even if for little reward, the poor boy learns about goals, which is the first step to gaining a sense of control over one's world—and the longer he lives with them before he can satisfy them, the keener do these goals become. Contrast that with the spoiled brat whose major misfortune may be that he does not have the wherewithal out of which goals are built.

Richard Weaver characterizes the attitude of the urban masses—those targets of the Welfare State—as "spoiled child psychology." "The spoiled child," Weaver says, "has not been made to see the relationship between effort and reward. He wants things, but he regards payment as an imposition or as an expression of malice by those who withhold for it."[1]

Here it is necessary to distinguish the often idle and

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usually sluggish feeling that the spoiled child interprets as a "want" from the deep-seated craving for independence and a sense of control. "Spoiled-child wants" are corruptions of real wants, which are at once the instrument and by-product of mental and physical growth. While the unspoiled child wants the things of life that will enable him to exercise and develop his skills of responsibility and integrity, the spoiled child wants (or thinks he wants) the things of death which deprive him of the need of making an effort or of overcoming an obstacle, of making a sacrifice or of encountering a strange and possibly demanding situation. The unspoiled child may want the freedom of a pony and a sleeping bag. The spoiled child wants the opiate of his television "programs."

With the constant contraction of real physical and mental freedom—which always requires effort, struggle, and competition—the spoiled child grows into the semblance of manhood without the maturity and sense of responsibility that only freedom can build into his life. The basic yearning for control over his world is likely to remain strong within him, but he will lack the skills to make it effective. And in the face of the repeated buffets of fate now brought on, in one way or another, by his lack of fundamental skills, he falls a willing victim to the promises of the Welfare State to take over the role of his indulgent parents—until, as Professor Weaver says, "he is unfitted for struggle of any kind."

As Weaver adds: "The truth is that he has never been brought to see what it is to be a man. That man is the product of discipline and of forging, that he really owes thanks for the pulling and tugging that enable him to grow—this concept left the manuals of education with the advent of Romanticism."

Strength Through Struggle

Yes, this has disappeared as a concept of formal education. But all men still recognize in their hearts that they can grow and develop only through a constant interaction between the individual and a recalcitrant environment, in which he—or something within him—tries to assert mastery. Only thus can acts of heroism, self-sacrifice, lifetime devotion to a cause, personal integrity be explained. It also explains—or perhaps is another way of regarding—the seeking of man for God. Distorted and frustrated, it drives men to drink, to crime, to suicide, to atheism.

The Welfare State promises to help its citizens. And it does "help" them. But do men really want help—at least the kind that tends to diminish their own ability to control their world for themselves? Not long ago Vollie Tripp pointed out how often "the helping hand" is dashed aside by intended beneficiaries.[2]

Nor do men necessarily want to be on the giving rather than the receiving end of "the helping hand." Except in cases of charity, or where a state of immaturity is implicitly understood, men want *exchange*, not the giving or receiving of *help*. (Even the best cases of charity are exchanges; what individual, worthy of the name, does not feel himself amply repaid by the very opportunity to relieve genuine distress on the part of another individual—also worthy of that calling? And the giving of care and time and energy to one's children is surely an exchange, not only in the increase of joy it brings, but also in its teaching of responsibility to the parent—who is thereby enabled to fulfill his destiny.) The freer the exchange, the more fully can the individual feel a sense of real community and communication—and that now, at last, he is a man among men, and recognized as such. *This* is "happiness" and "well-being."

Weakness Encouraged

The Welfare State is a fraud. It promises to promote happiness, but instead brutally diminishes it. Farmers do not really enjoy being given money for not growing crops; it runs counter to their deepest sense of being. Unemployed men do not enjoy receiving checks for no work. Recipients of "free" medical care do not enjoy their increasing lack of a feeling of control and responsibility for their own destinies—which may be what they were suffering from in the first place.

In the future, whenever the going gets hard, they will be haunted by the memory that they can always give up—and, merely by surrendering their birthright as an individual, accept the easy way out. Even to keep this temptation under control will divert energies that should be used creatively.

There is nothing "free" about one-sided help. It is paid for in the victim's loss of self-respect, and it cultivates the weaknesses in his nature that it may be the purpose of life to overcome.

Stephen B. Miles, Jr., on leave from his Los Angeles management consulting service for a teaching assignment in Idaho, also does free-lance writing and editorial work.

Richard Weaver, Ideas Have Consequences, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. See Chapter VI. This and succeeding quotations are from pp. 113 and 114.

[2] Vollie Tripp, "The Helping Hand," The Freeman, May, 1959.

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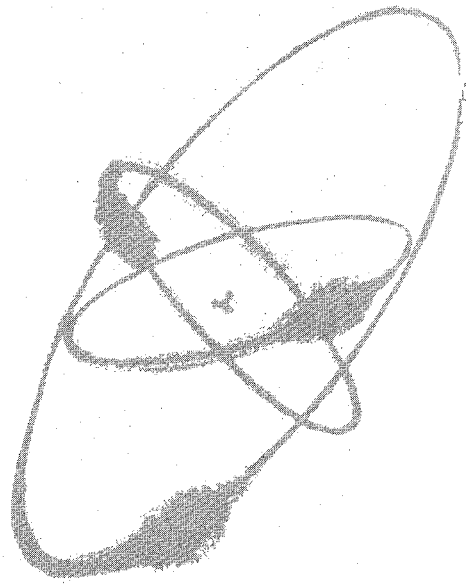

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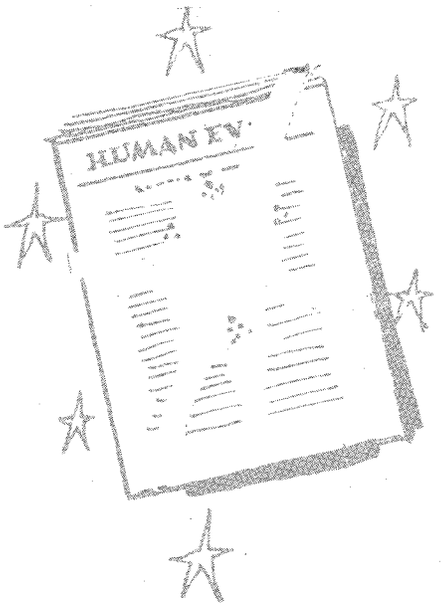

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